



THE SPIRIT IN LITERATURE AND LIFE

THE E. D. RAND LECTURES IN IOWA
COLLEGE FOR THE YEAR 1894

BY

JOHN PATTERSON COYLE, D. D.



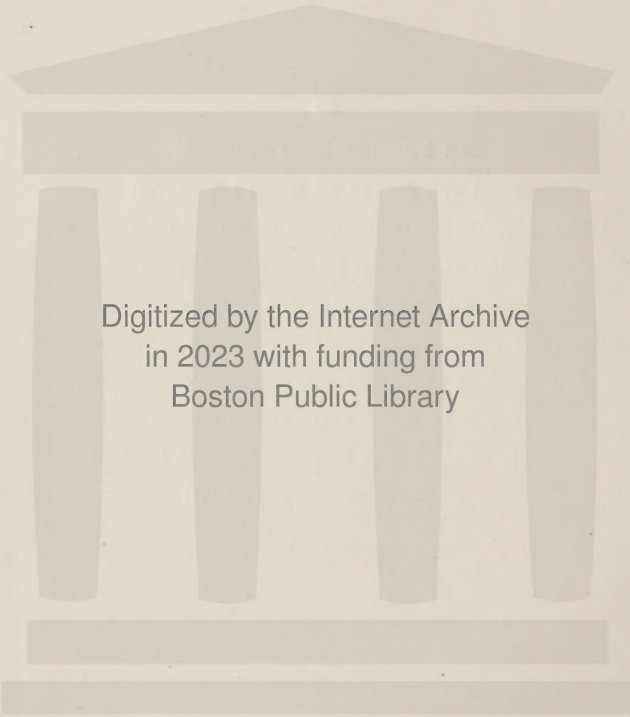
BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1896

Copyright, 1895,
By MARY CUSHMAN COYLE.

All rights reserved.

The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton & Co.

TO
MY FATHER AND MOTHER
FROM THE SECOND OF WHOM I RECEIVED
THE NEVER-FORGOTTEN ADVICE TO THINK FEARLESSLY
AND FROM BOTH OF WHOM I RECEIVED
AN IMPRESSION OF THE REALITY
OF THE SPIRIT OF CHRISTLIKENESS WHICH COULD NOT BE EFFACED
BY YEARS OF BLACK DOUBT AND DREARY AGNOSTICISM
AND TO WHOM BELONGS THE CREDIT
IF I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO THINK THROUGH ANY ONE
OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE AGE



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
Boston Public Library

PREFACE.

SINCE I hope that these lectures may have the good fortune to be read, as they were heard, by some true scholars, I would draw at least one of the stings of criticism by saying in advance that they do not bring to their subject a scholarship worthy of it. The views expressed in them have been withheld for years because of a cherished ambition to be able some day to give to them a fit setting of research. But hoped-for leisure is still denied, time passes, they seem to be needed as a keystone for an arch, special scholars overlook the clew to them, an unsought invitation to lecture brings the opportunity, and so at a good deal of sacrifice of pride they are put forth in this imperfect shape. I claim for them that they are the fruit of a spirit of scholarship which I was once permitted to breathe, that they will bear its test in the main, and with what grace I can I leave to others their correction and development. Following as they do an untrodden path, which traverses at an unaccustomed angle the whole field

of possible knowledge, only a cyclopedic knowledge could fully satisfy the demand they make. Many matters had to be disposed of summarily which are worthy of studied attention. One or two authors have been consulted on special topics upon which libraries have been written. Yet the references in the footnotes do not begin to indicate the influence which the writings of others have had in the formation and the maturing of these ideas. Those whose service has been greatest have given it in the form of mental nutriment and stimulus, or by subtle suggestions which cannot be verified by quotations. The major axes of interest in many most diverse departments of investigation seem to me to converge to the point here made. Problems of force in all its manifestations, of inspiration, of sociology, of psychology in its broader outlines of philosophical history, all demand a new treatment of this subject, and will receive an illumination from its successful treatment. Well may the words of Montesquieu, in the introduction to his great treatise on "The Spirit of Laws," be here quoted: "If this work meets with success I shall owe it chiefly to the grandeur and majesty of the subject."

JOHN P. COYLE.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The three stages of thought	1
Method of positivism	2
Jesus as a pure phenomenon	3
His spirit as a pure phenomenon	3
Spiritual phenomena in general	4
Untrodden ground	5
Important class of facts	6
And a large class	7
Objectivity of spiritual phenomena	8
Not abstractions	8, 9
Yet of a secondary kind	10
Bacon on Plato	11
Spiritual and personal	12
Spiritual forces specific forces	13
Spiritual substance	14-16
Methods and facts inchoate	17
Field worth investigating	18
Complexity	19
Spiritual and social	20, 21
Individualism	22
History	23
Centres of history	24
Two factors in history	25
The new spiritual force	26
The spirit of Moses	27
Contrast with the Egyptian spirit	28
Ethical tone	29-31
Spirit rather than idea	32
The ritual	32
Faith in the people	33
Semitic spirit	34
Probably very ancient	35
Betterment rather than perfection	36

Spiritual germ	37
Social force	37
Creative	38, 39
Age of disorganization	40
The spirit and the land	41
Early movements	42
Construction begins	43
David	44
Solomon	45
Disruption a blessing	45
Elijah the prophet	46
Amos and his line	47
Ethics of the prophets	48
Their faith	49
Their frankness	50
Assyrian invasion	51
Prophetic optimism	51
Ground of it	52
Utopias	53, 54
The spirit common to them	55
Stress upon individualism	56
Heroes	57
Double Messianic anticipation	58
Rise of Judaism	58
The Hebrew spirit produced it	59, 60
Priest-prophet and Scribe-prophet	61, 62
Witness of the Psalter	63
Judaism and sin	63, 64
The synagogue	65
Demand for the Scriptures	66, 67
The spirit and legalism	68
Doctrine of future life	68
The Hebrew and the Hellenic spirits	69
Sectarianism	70
The Maccabean war	71, 72
The literature of the spirit	73
Greek literature	74
Literary psychology	75
History and literature	76
Literature and Hebrew life	77
The spirit the agent	78, 79
The country and the literature	80

CONTENTS.

ix

Proverbial literature	80
Traditional legends	81-83
Doctrine of God and of the world	84, 85
Doctrine of evil	86, 87
Genealogy	88
Prophetic guilds	89
Their conquest by the spirit	90
Pen-point inspiration	91
Earliest manifestation	92
Literature in civilization	93
Literature a force	94
Literature and the spiritualization of society	95
Literary factor ancient	96, 97
The spirit and the canon	98
Canonicity of Esther	99, 100
Job	101
The Canticles	102
Spiritual judgment	102
The Logos	103
The final muster	104, 105
The great crisis	106
Israel the rescue	107
Preparation	108
Messianic expectation	109
The fullness of time	110, 111
The remnant	112
Proof of it	113
Folk-lore of the "Remnant"	114
Catholicity of the "Remnant"	115, 116
The spirit and Hebrew womanhood	117
The mother of Jesus	118
Story of his birth	119, 120
Surroundings of his childhood	121
The home and the nation	122
The national consciousness	123, 124
"My Father's house"	125
The germ thought	126
Original, yet not sporadic	127
Fatherhood in the Old Testament	128
Culmination of the spirit	129
"Led of the spirit"	129
The personality and the spirit	130, 131

The spirit as instinct	132
The objective world	133
Providence and angels and demons	133, 134
Sadducean deism	135
The unseen world	136
Immortality	136
Gospel of the kingdom	137
Self-obliteration	138
Natural unity	139
Jesus' cosmopolitanism	140, 141
The philosophy of outlawry	142
"The anointing teacheth "	143
Hebrew history in light of Jesus' spirit	144, 145
Self-restraint of the spirit	146
The key to Hebrew history	147
The profundities	147, 148
Jesus an era	149
The resurrection	150
Age of the spirit	150, 151
Gift of tongues	152
Continuity maintained	153
The spirit again in history	154
Varying types	155
Differentiation needed	156
Organization	157, 158
The specific element	159
Charity	160
Inhuman amusements	160
Suicide	161
Slavery	161
The church and slavery	162, 163
Property	164, 165
Woman	166
The family	167
The Christian family	168
Nationalism	169, 170
Internationalism	171, 172
Politics	173
The church	173
Business	174
Exceptions	175
Industrialism	176

Corporations	177
Literature	178
Science	179
The sacred literature	180
Neither fortuitous nor providential, but of the spirit	181
Sufficiency of the spirit	182
Old and New Testaments	183
Spiritual continuity	184
Moral tone	185
Spirit of accuracy	186
Filled with the spirit	187
The Bible as a force	188
Reproduction	189
Bibliolatry	189, 190
Spirit and letter	191
Plenary inspiration	192
Importance of Scripture	193
Recapitulation	194-196
The goal of the spiritual movement	197
The spirit of moral force	197, 198
A religious force	199, 200
Miracles	201
Spiritual mastery of Jesus	201, 202
Science and the spirit	203
Knowledge the servant of love	204, 205
Immortality	206
Spiritual purity	207, 208
The supreme spiritual relationship	209
Friendship	209
Friendship in history	210, 211
The basis of Christian society	212, 213
The motive for material betterment	214
George Fox	215, 216
Friendship and the faith in immortality	217
Life and immortality brought to light	218-220
"Articles" of faith	221
Kant	222
Hope and dread	222, 223
Jesus King of immortals	224
Jesus and God	225
Apotheosis of Jesus	226
Apotheosis of "the Father"	227, 228

Kant's categorical imperative	229
An adequate God	230, 231
Apotheosis of the spirit	232, 233
The Holy Trinity	234-237
Life transfigured	238
Providence and the spirit not identical	239
"Divine ordering" and continuity	240-242
Sense of sin	243
Atonement	244
Orthodoxy regained	245
Summary	245-247

THE SPIRIT IN LITERATURE AND LIFE.

I.

It was the fruitful observation of Auguste Comte that the human mind in its treatment of facts was likely to take three successive attitudes. At first it would infer that all facts not easily accounted for had been caused by the capricious interference of non-human personalities, gods and demigods. Comte called this the theological, though it might more properly be described as the mythological method. Then, taking what he regarded as a step in advance, it adopted the metaphysical method, and accounted for things, not by the caprices of persons, but by the fixed attributes of entities. Finally, perceiving the futility also of this explanation, it was fain to be content with positivism, and simply to observe and classify facts, seeking to learn their general characteristics and such causes and effects as belong to the same phenomenal order.

The three
stages of
thought.

It may be doubted whether the mind can be content with positivism without maining
Method of itself and doing less than full justice to
positivism. the facts. But praise should not be withheld from Comte and his fellow prophets of kindred schools, for their services in overthrowing the undue power of doctrines founded upon premature or illicit inferences, and in encouraging prolonged and patient study of facts. While it would be unfair to assert that these assumed personalities and entities, though they may have been unreal, served no useful purpose in the pursuit of truth, since they often filled the place which would to-day be filled by provisional hypotheses, yet it was a common vice of the past to infer them too hastily, and then to cling to them so tenaciously as to let them dominate and vitiate further observation. Aside therefore from any question as to their usefulness or validity, it is a gain to have at least temporarily arrested the tendency to make them, so that an era of observation, unhindered by stereotyped notions, may yield material either for pure induction, or, if they should be adjudged legitimate, for a more adequate set of inferences concerning entities or personalities.

There is one field where the method of attending strictly to facts, and abstaining from premature and questionable inferences concerning causes or existences outside the reach of observation, promises to yield exceptionally rich results. This

is in the study of the most significant phenomenon in the known universe, the person of Jesus of Nazareth. Hardly any other fact has been so hampered by the grave-

Jesus as a
pure phe-
nomenon.

clothes of dead speculations of the mythological and metaphysical orders. Although the work which has been accomplished in this field of research has been done chiefly by incompetent, because biased and unfriendly critics, yet when once it has been restated by sympathetic hands, men will not be slow to acknowledge the gain, and to confess that it has been the means of verifying rather than of contradicting his own saying that he is "the truth."

Alongside of Jesus, and so far identified with him as to be for the most part imperfectly distinguished from him, and to form with him a single though not a simple phenomenon, stands another fact of equal proportions and significance, his spirit. The distinction between the spirit of Jesus and Jesus himself is as fundamental and important as their identity. They are historically and numerically one fact. With equal emphasis, however, it must be affirmed that they are historically and numerically two facts, subjects of more or less independent investigation. It is to the study of this spirit, as a fact by itself, and a pure phenomenon, that our attention is invited.¹

His spirit as
a pure phe-
nomenon.

¹ Professor Fairbairn, in his *Place of Christ in Modern The-*

4 SPIRITUAL PHENOMENA IN GENERAL.

Like as in the fruitful study of the person of Jesus it is necessary to first exhaust him on his more intelligible side; to treat him as capable of classification with other men, and as forming an integral part of the history of the race; so this corresponding fact, his spirit, can be observed to good purpose only by postponing any emphasis which might be placed upon its uniqueness, and by considering it as a member of a class. But the class of phenomena to which it belongs is one which has been so commonly treated in the mythological or metaphysical way that little else can be done until we have first learned to avoid the pitfalls which have thus been prepared. We must undertake to perceive and speak of a certain class of spirits as pure phenomena, and must observe some of their leading characteristics and general laws. Fortunately the genius of language has as usual somewhat anticipated the demands upon it, and has provided in common speech distinctions which permit us to employ the term "spirit" in the *ology*, has a chapter on "The Rediscovery of the Historical Christ." What is here sought is the rediscovery of the historical spirit. Says Professor Ladd (*Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*, vol. ii., p. 357): "Of spirit which is not now and here concretely made known, we can take no cognizance; from it we can expect no appreciable communication. And if the Bible is, in any intelligible sense of the word, theopneustic, it is so because the spirit from which it comes has caused it to come into existence concretely, and in accordance with the laws and processes of nature and history."

positivist sense. We speak habitually of the spirit of a man, or of a book, or of a movement, or of a party, without even hinting at any mysterious person or entity behind the phenomenon.

The study of a spirit as on the one hand a pure phenomenon, without implying anything metaphysical or mythological, and on the other hand an actual independent fact, ^{Untrodden ground.} rather than a mere quality or abstraction, is attended, however, with most of the advantages and disadvantages of a pioneer effort. A new and rich territory is to be explored. It has occurred to few to enter it armed with the scientific method. Most of those who have made the attempt have speedily succumbed to the tendency to treat the spirit as an entity or a personality, and have passed up into the region of theology or metaphysics, or down into that of vulgar spiritism or theosophy. Those who have not done this have rarely avoided treating it as an abstraction, or have employed the term in some vague literary rather than in a scientific sense.¹

¹ Approaches to the use of this method are found in Mathe-son's *Growth of the Spirit of Christianity*, and in Lester Ward's *Dynamical Sociology* and *Psychic Factors in Civilization*. Montesquieu in his *Spirit of Laws* was instinctively attempting it, but without a conscious critical method, so that he was lost in detail. See Jering, *Spirit of Roman Law*, where the method is consciously employed. I have discovered no suggestion of the method in modern theological literature, where it ought to be expected. It is essential, though they themselves have not perceived it, to the carrying out of either Comte's or Spencer's schemes for a scientific sociology. Perhaps Renan's frequent

To note the distinction between phenomenal spirits and those of the mythological or metaphysical order, it is only necessary to attempt to classify together the spirit which prompts the building of hospitals and that alleged spirit which raps upon tables in dark-room seances. The mind at once protests against such classifications. Yet, while we never think of identifying the spirit of the hospital-building species with any mysterious person or entity, its reality in the sense in which we employ that term in every-day life is better confirmed than that of the spirit of the table-rapping species. It belongs, as the other does not, to the class of spirits which are among the most numerous and powerful factors in history. It belongs to the class of facts to which Guizot refers when he speaks of "a power which no law can comprise or suppress, and which in times of need goes further than institutions. Call it the spirit of the age, public intelligence, opinion, or what you will, you cannot doubt its existence. It is of the greatest importance that these indirect influences should be kept in view in the study of history. They are much more efficacious and often more salutary than we take them to be. . . . Every country in Europe has seen rise and develop itself within it a certain public mind."¹

and lucid reference to the "spirits" of the race and of humanity in his *History of the People of Israel* is traceable to the influence of Comte.

¹ *History of Civilization*, vol. i., pp. 129, 164.

The world is densely populated with spirits of this phenomenal kind. They are doing a good part of its work, and are mustering to fight henceforth its greatest battles. It ^{And a large class.} is because of the imperial authority of spiritual forces that the greatest material armaments that ever stood prepared for conflict are spell-bound, and dare not make a hostile movement. The contests are to be no longer those of flesh and blood, but of spiritual hosts in higher regions. Among spiritual phenomena of historical importance at this time are to be found the spirit of brotherhood, transcending differences of race and political boundaries and economic conditions. Somewhat counterpoising this are such newly-born or requickened national spirits as never before looked so consciously into one another's faces. There is a Zeit Geist, and there are many anti-zeit-geists, reactionary spirits resisting the Zeit Geist to the uttermost. Among them, of the same class with them, yet stronger and destined to make conquest of all, is the spirit which we are to study, greater than the Zeit Geist, "the spirit of the ages," measuring itself up with the spirit of the age. This is the Christ spirit, and stands in the same relative attitude toward these other spirits in which Jesus of Nazareth stands toward other men. As Jesus is being most fruitfully known to-day as one among men, whatever further thing concerning him may be true; so this spirit, whatever else may

8 OBJECTIVITY OF SPIRITUAL PHENOMENA.

be true of it, may first be most profitably studied as one among spirits of the phenomenal kind.

But in the effort to avoid treating these spirits as other than phenomenal, we are in danger of going to another extreme and doubting their reality. In the most genuine sense they belong to the world of objective realities.

Objectivity
of spiritual
phenomena.

While most persons are little disposed to believe in the table-rapping spirits of the séances, or the mahatmas of the theosophists, or the ghosts which figure in the reports of societies for psychical research, no healthy mind doubts the reality of spirits of this kind. No one is under suspicion of being a dupe who testifies that he saw the spirit of enterprise in Chicago, or the spirit of John Wesley in a Methodist conference, or the spirit of Wall Street opposite Trinity Church. He may or not be in special sympathy with such spirits. He may be sensitive to them because of antipathy as well. Many who manifest a spirit do not guess of what manner of spirit they are. The spirit of Christianity may be readily perceived by one who is indifferent or even hostile to it. The reality of these spirits is not of subjective persuasion. It has all the marks of objective perception.

Neither are these spirits abstractions. The name does not stand for a mere quality. The spirit of the age, the spirit of Wesley, the spirit of the Christ, are more than qualities of the age, of Wesley, of the Christ. A quality does

Not abstractions.

not proceed from one thing to another, is not capable of impartation, as heat from a stove or light from a lamp. The spirits of Wesley, of the age, of the Christ, proceed from and are imparted by Wesley, the age, the Christ, as heat from the stove and light from the lamp. In a sense these last are independent things. The stove and the heat are two things; the lamp and the light are two things. Heat and light are not qualities. They are modes of motion, and they may leave the stove or the lamp and go elsewhere, and they will not cease to exist in some form as modes of motion. In the same sense Wesley is one fact and the spirit of Wesley is another, the age one and the spirit of the age another, the Christ one and the spirit of the Christ another fact. The spirit holds the same kind of relation toward that of which it is the spirit that the physical forces hold toward the material things of which they are the modes of motion. They are modes of action,¹ if we may use that word to designate something more highly organized than simple motion, if not specifically different from it. As motion is motion and nothing else, and cannot be changed into matter or originated from matter, but can only be transmitted or transferred to some other mode of itself, so spirit is action and not quality, and cannot be destroyed but only transmitted or transformed into some other mode of action. Hence, when we speak of a spirit

¹ Lester Ward, *Psychic Factors in Civilization*, pp. 80, 130.

we do not speak of a mere quality or abstraction, but of that which possesses an independent reality.

Yet, while not an abstraction or a quality, a spirit is always a reality of a secondary kind. It

is always a spirit *of* something, and never
Yet of a
secondary
kind. “just spirit.” The Wesleyan spirit is

the spirit *of* Wesley, and if it existed before him and merely took his name, still it was the spirit of some man or set of men or movement. The Zeit Geist is the spirit *of* the age. The Christ spirit is the spirit *of* the Christ. And though in many common modes of speech the preposition is used in a looser sense, merely by way of adding a descriptive term, yet strictly speaking there is no spirit which is not the spirit *of* something to which it is to be joined by the fullest force of the preposition. When Matthew Arnold said that the spirit of lubricity ruled in French literature, he used the prepositional phrase for descriptive purposes only. But if one were to say that that same spirit is the spirit *of* French literature, and may be imparted by it to American literature and life, he is speaking in a strict sense. If that spirit were to leave French and come to American literature, it would still be the spirit *of* something ; it would have no existence except as the spirit *of* something. In this sense of dependence, as well as in that of independence, therefore, the same relation exists between spirit and those things *of* which it is the spirit, as between material forces or modes of mo-

tion and material things, between motion and matter.

The failure to keep equally clear in our minds both the dependence and the independence of spiritual phenomena will so far vitiate observation as to throw us into one or the ^{Bacon on Plato.} other of the two errors above indicated, of regarding spirits as either simple abstractions, with no kind of independent reality, or as entities of some imperceptible type. And either of these opposite errors will cause a reaction to the other. Bacon, to whom more than to any other we owe the method of pure observation of phenomena, seems to accuse Plato of failing in this way to make the most of his great and fruitful doctrine of ideas, when he says: "It is manifest that Plato saw in his doctrine of ideas that 'forms were the true object of knowledge,' though he lost the advantage of this just opinion by contemplating and grasping at forms totally abstracted from matter and not as determined in it: whence he turned aside to theological questions and therewith infected all his natural philosophy."¹ That is to say, Plato, attempting to treat that as an abstraction which was actually more than an abstraction, fell through into the opposite extreme of mythology.

In view of the similarity of relationship between material forces and material things, and spiritual forces and the things of which they are the spirits,

¹ *De Augm.*, iii. 4.

it is necessary to observe that that thing of which
a spirit is a secondary phenomenon is al-
ways either a person or that into which
personality enters as the determining
element. The Zeit Geist is the spirit of that which
is made up not of things but of persons. If the
spirit of the Christ was manifest before Jesus it
was in persons or societies or laws or literature or
art, all expressive of personality. If the line of
distinction between persons and things be hard to
fix, equally hard will it be to fix the distinction be-
tween spiritual and material forces. If on the
other hand the chasm between persons and things
be distinct and impossible to bridge over, equally
impassable is the chasm between material and spir-
itual forces. If language has acknowledged a de-
batable zone between persons and things by using
such expressions as "the animal man," likewise it
has confessed a corresponding debatable zone be-
tween material and spiritual phenomena by speak-
ing of "animal spirits." If there be intercourse
and inter-dependence between persons and things,
so that personality may be nourished by the imper-
sonal or may degenerate into it, so are spiritual
and material forces mutually interconvertible. If
a person can belong to the visible world only
through alliance with matter, and enters into the
unseen so soon as that alliance is broken, likewise
spiritual forces can play a part in the visible order
only by producing material action or motion. Even

Spiritual
and
personal.

the spirit of the séances, though it is fancied to be an entity, is as though it did not exist unless it can "materialize" by producing some mode of motion. In spite, however, of the vagueness of the distinction between persons and things, and the unsatisfactoriness of the definitions which have been made, and the seeming impossibility of abolishing the debatable zone, no one doubts that the difference between persons and things is specific, if anything is specific. Correspondingly specific is the distinction between spiritual and material forces.

Not only are spiritual phenomena specifically distinguished from material; they may also, like material forces, be specific as distinguished from one another. The spirit of the age is a specific force, as electricity is, and like the latter is not transformed into other modes unless it finds obstacles to its transmission in kind; and then it is likely to leave some mark of itself upon the new phenomenon which it produces. The success of a spiritual force in maintaining its specific character must depend upon its finding personal or social or literary or legal channels through which it can move without meeting too great resistance. It can indeed produce these things; but only in obedience to the law by which the higher specific forces work upon the basis of the lower, by gradual and almost imperceptible changes. The vital functions undoubtedly develop structure, as structure does function, but not by great leaps.

Spiritual
forces spe-
cific forces.

Apparent exceptions are to be accounted for as only apparent. It is, however, within the realm of reasonable anticipation, that such permanent and suitable personal and spiritual embodiments will at length be evolved, that corresponding spiritual phenomena may therein find the opportunity to become persistent, so that indestructibility may be affirmed of their specific modes of action, as continuity is affirmed of the action itself. If in spite of the flux in its physical basis, personality is able to achieve fixedness, a parallel fixedness will pertain to the spirits which proceed from such personalities. If several personalities become persistent and maintain an equally persistent social relationship, that will give rise to a social spirit also equally persistent.

It may then even lay some claim to a right to be put under the category of substance. Says a recent writer, arguing that although life is only a mode of motion it has as good a right to be called a substance as anything else: "What more can be affirmed of any substance . . . than that amidst its varying affections it constitutes an identical, individual, perdurable and self-sustaining focus of energy?"¹ Thus, reasoning in the other direction, Lotze, somewhere trying to show that the fact that the body is composed of a variety of monads does not make impossible the substantial individuality of the

Spiritual
substance.

¹ E. Montgomery, *Mind*, vol. vi., p. 243.

man, illustrates it by the relation between the Zeit Geist and individual men and women. There is, he says, "a Zeit Geist which is not any one man and yet exists in the consciousness of different individuals, weak in the stupid and unsympathetic, and strong in those of opposite capacity, and thus the individuality of each shades off into the Zeit Geist, which is the universal behind them all."¹ The identity and individuality of a spiritual phenomenon of this class is like that which the Lutheran theologians in their doctrine of consubstantiality affirm of the identity of the symbols of the sacrament with the body of Christ. They say it is not a local but a definitive — we might say a functional — identity; it performs the same office and is consequently the same in spirit. Or it might be compared to Herbert Spencer's "moving equilibria," which, as he says, have a certain self-conserving power, shown in the neutralization of perturbations and the adjustment to new conditions; and, he further says, "the penultimate stage of this process, in which the extremest degree of multiformity and completest form of moving equilibrium is established, must be one implying the highest conceivable state of humanity."² Mr. Spencer cannot be suspected of speaking either at random or under the influence of any blind inspirational force. When he speaks of the "highest conceivable state of humanity," he has undoubt-

¹ *Mind*, vol. i., p. 369.

² *First Principles*, sec. 140.

edly some mental vision of a perfect social state, and this "completest form of moving equilibrium" has something or other intelligible to do with it. It is in the same connection that he says, "The progressive change in the arrangement of matter is accompanied by a parallel change in the arrangement of motion. Every increase in the structural complexity of things involves a corresponding increase in their functional complexity;" which, applied to his "highest conceivable state of humanity," would mean that social states of high grade have corresponding social forces or spirits of a high grade.¹

It is one of the disadvantages in the study of spiritual phenomena, however, that not only are we trying to do something new to us, but the very facts we seek to investigate are mostly in an in-

¹ "A time arrives in the progress of social development when societies of men become conscious of a corporate existence, and when the improvement of the conditions of this existence becomes for them an object of conscious and deliberate effort. At what particular stage in human history this new social force comes into play, we have no need here to inquire. What I am concerned to point out is that *it is a new social force.*" J. E. Cairnes, *Fortn. Rev.*, vol. xvii., p. 71 (New Series). It is not true, as this writer assumes, and as most writers on this subject take for granted, that the social force or spirit is dependent upon or awaits the development of the social consciousness. This is where the school of Hegel commits the error of Plato above alluded to, and turns aside to mythology, "wherewith it infects all its natural philosophy." Consciousness is not a force. Social forces exist where there is no evidence of social consciousness. The science of social forces or spirits need take no account of consciousness.

choate state. Comte remarked that the science of sociology was tardy in its development, not only because of scarcity of trained observers but because the phenomena themselves were yet embryonic, society not being old enough to manifest the laws of its organization; and Guizot felt that he must explain some of his vagueness on the score that "civilization is yet in its infancy." The astronomer sees some things as *nebulæ* because of the imperfections of his instruments, and he sees other things as *nebulae* because they are *nebulæ*. Some spiritual phenomena look cloudy because our powers of spiritual discernment are weak, and others because they are cloudy. "That was not first which is spiritual but that which is animal,"¹ and we look out into the youth of the world of spirits, where we find them in every stage of growth, imperfectly differentiated and integrated. So Van Oosterzee, referring to the late appearance in history of the Holy Spirit, says that "it is perhaps to be attributed to this fact, that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit cannot be presented with the same degree of clearness as others, and still, with the future development of the spiritual life of the church awaits its own full development." Few indeed are the spiritual forces or phenomena which can be clearly defined.²

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 46.

² "Intellectually considered, social differentiation has always

Methods and
facts incho-
ate.

Yet so great is the promise of fruits from a study of these phenomena that it is worth while to face some discouragement in laying the foundation for a better knowledge of them. Was it not concerning this subject that Luther said, "The ore still lies half in the mine?" When we measure the progress which material science has made both in the discovery and in the application of truth, since it ceased to treat the material forces as metaphysical entities and began to study them as only modes of motion although true forces, we are encouraged to ask whether a similar new era may not be in store for the science of spiritual things if it too should resolutely turn aside, for a time only it may be, to consider spiritual phenomena as mere modes of social action, as social forces. Perhaps it is too soon to say that such an analogy will hold. Mr. Spencer may or may not have had something of the kind in his thought, however, when he said: "Those familiar with the present aspect of science must suspect that inferences drawn from the ulti-

been far in advance of social integration. As in the solar system the outlying members — the planets — have vastly exceeded the central mass — the sun — in the progress which they have made toward the dissipation of their inherent motion and the integration of their constituent matter, so, in society, while individual men have, at different times and in varying degrees, arrived at the full consciousness both of themselves and of the universe, the social mass, the supreme psychic centre of the social organism, still consists of a chaos of undifferentiated elements in the crude homogeneous state." Lester Ward, *Dynamical Sociology*, vol. ii., p. 387.

mate laws of force, will lead to the investigation and generalization of classes of facts hitherto unexamined.”¹ And it may be that such a study may begin to remove the occasion for Professor Seeley’s reproach that “no adequate doctrine of civilization is taught among us.”²

Spiritual phenomena are not only largely inchoate, they are exceedingly manifold in their forms, and interpenetrate and combine with one another and with other phenomena in ^{Complexity.} more ways than can be indicated. Frequently a vaguely defined spiritual phenomenon of wide dimensions finds its partial manifestation in the shape of some smaller and less generic spirit. As we reach a higher point of view spirits which appeared to be complete in themselves are seen to be but special forms of more comprehensive spirits. The spirit of enterprise, or the spirit of untrammelled inquiry, may be seen to be but a particular manifestation of the spirit of the age. Smaller spirits are visible to some to whom the larger spirit of the age appears to be an abstrac-

¹ *First Principles*, sec. 144.

² “The social forces only need to be investigated as the rest have been, in order to discover ways in which their utility can be demonstrated. Here is a vast field of true scientific exploitation as yet untracked.” *Dynam. Sociol.*, vol. i., p. 43. “The great object was to show that all science is a progress from the sensible and material to the principle of Powers, and of a unity in Powers. . . . The conclusion referred to the discovery of a still higher identification between the God of nature and the God of the spirits.” *Biography of F. D. Maurice*, vol. i., p. 323.

tion. A spirit renders itself effective by continually assuming these more specific forms. The spirit of anti-slavery was able to become tremendously efficient by taking on personal form in John Brown, and literary form in "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

A spiritual phenomenon is essentially a social phenomenon.¹ In its simplest conceivable form it is the interplay of forces between two or more persons. If it were possible to conceive of a solitary personality at all, that person could be thought of as spiritual only in some mythical or metaphysical sense. To say that a person is a spiritual being in the phenomenal sense, that is, to say that he can be seen to be a spiritual being, is to say that he is a social being and cannot be discovered outside of social relationships. There may be an imperfect form of social relationship which is not spiritual, but there can be no true manifestation of spirit which is not social. There may be a spirit in literature, but that also is social. A spiritual religion is a social religion. Professor Toy rightly says that religion, like language and ethics, is a branch of sociology. "Man's thought," says he, "keeps pace, or is rather identical with social organization. . . . Religion must grow as society grows. . . . A large social life is an essential condition of

¹ "The social forces are the psychic forces as they operate in the collective state of man." Lester Ward, *Psychic Factors*, p. 123.

the development of a great religion. It is only out of a national organization that those large experiences spring without which religious systems are narrow and unfruitful.”¹ It is one of the worst of falsehoods that religion is a matter of individual concern. Even when one enters alone into the presence of God, if it is a spiritual approach, it brings him into a social relationship, and if he be without the true social nature he cannot so enter. Likewise spiritual worship is not possible unless God be conceived of as a social being. But if God be of a social spirit, and a worshiper of an unsocial nature come before him, he can hardly do otherwise than ask him “Where is thy brother?” Cardinal Newman seems to have regarded it as a sign of his own deeply religious nature that it had always been to him as though he and God were the only two persons in the universe. Manning, on the other hand, seems to have had as genuine a personal interest in the London dock laborer as in God; and he was the more truly spiritual of the two. So we find that Abraham, the reputed father of spiritual religion, was the “friend” of God, and yet was at the same time so attached to his nephew that not only would he fight the king of Damascus in his behalf, but would stand up and argue that the judge of all the earth ought to do right by him,—so strong was the social spirit in Abraham.² “I

¹ *Judaism and Christianity*, pp. 1, 2, 7.

² Gen. xiv. ; xviii. 23-33.

have not called you slaves," said Jesus, "I have called you friends;" and that is the secret of the religious worship of Jesus to this day. It is a development of social democracy. "The Kingdom of God" is rightly modernized by Dr. Mulford in the phrase, "The Republic of God."

Always complementary, however, to the fact of the social nature of spiritual phenomena, is the other fact that spiritual forces are dependent for
 Individual- their generation and focalization upon
 ism. special and individualized personalities. This is consistent with the self-evident fact that strong social relationships cannot exist between weak individuals. Society rests upon self-assertion as much as upon self-surrender; and it is through the individual with more than ordinary powers of self-assertion that the spiritual force gains its effectiveness. Every social organism which has risen to the spiritual plane has been fruitful in great personalities. A popular movement which has no place for exceptional men, heroes rising above the average and guiding the currents of popular interest, is the dream of the communist, and is doomed to failure; as a reign of heroes without its impulse from the hearts of the people is the fallacy of the absolutist. Always before a new step forward in the development of spiritual life is possible, some small group of men or some one man must concentrate the diffused spiritual influences and give to them a

new and more direct activity. A spiritual force is a social force; but as no great man can succeed without a constituency, so no society can thrive without its great men. It lives in them. "As I take it," says Carlyle, "universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modelers, patterns and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or attain; the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these."¹ Social life cannot maintain itself upon a dead level. Individualism and socialism are mutually essential each to the other, and a spiritual force, because it is a social phenomenon, depends largely upon the genius of the individual.

Professor Toy understates the fact when he says that the complete religious system depends upon a national organization of society. If a religion would be truly ecumenical it must come indeed from a national organiza-^{History.} tion, but from one which stands in organic relations to universal history.² The completion of human development is dependent upon the nation as it is upon the family or the individual. A cosmopolitanism which is the mere result of the

¹ *Hero Worship.*

² Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures for 1882*, Lect. I.

loosening of the ties of patriotism is no true cosmopolitanism, as a republic is no true republic, though Plato devise it, which ignores the family tie. Only that history is worthy of the name which tends to the fulfillment of national organisms in international relationships. Such history is the flower of humanity, and hence of the universe, and in connection with such a history the truly universal religion can flourish. The most important subject of investigation both for sociological and for theological purposes is universal history, if it can be discovered that such a thing exists: that is, if anywhere there has been a course of events which has had nationalities for its organic units, and which has itself been an organism and maintained organic relations, past or prospective, with the whole of mankind.

Most nearly answering to such conception of an organic course of history is that which was being enacted about the shores of the Mediterranean Sea some two and three thousand years ago. All of that which has since reached the dignity of history is derived from that, and it is the manifest destiny of the whole to be brought into its current. While the geographical centre of history has left the Mediterranean, it did so in such a way as not to destroy the historical continuities, and the mind of man will never be permitted to forget that about those favored shores were being prepared that spiritual wealth, the wealth of

Centres of
history.

possible personal relationships, which is so rich a legacy to us. It is probable indeed that history began elsewhere, and that its focal point traveled to as it has since traveled from the Great Sea. Its course may yet be successfully traced. It may be discovered that the many outlying and seemingly detached and half historical or unhistorical portions of humanity actually belong to one history as they belong to one race. What is of greater interest is that it may appear that there is to be but one universal historical movement, which is to sweep into its current and assimilate to its general type, and carry in its general direction, all those masses of humanity that now seem stranded, waiting for the tide of organic human life to rise high enough to lift them.

If such universal historical organism is in existence, with its possibilities for the future of the race, it is the one phenomenon in all the world most deserving of study. And Two factors in history. those things in it most worthy of investigation will be of two kinds, personalities and spiritual, or, as they may with equal propriety be called, social forces. If any one personality or any one spiritual force outranks all the others, that person or that spirit will deserve to have the most consideration. It would be strange, too, seeing how intimately interrelated individual persons and spiritual forces always have been, if such supremely important personage and such supremely important spirit

did not occupy close mutual relations. If it be true, as may be here assumed, that the personality of Jesus of Nazareth has succeeded in putting itself into human history and winning a place of preëminence, so that from him forward and backward the world rightly dates its eras, it need occasion no surprise, if a spiritual factor be discovered closely identified with his personality, sharing with it the throne of power and the creatorship of the future.

A remarkable event is said to have occurred soon after the final departure of Jesus, and to have signalized the entrance into history of a specifically new agent, — his spirit. In its essential features the story is credible and probable, both upon the basis of any fair estimate of what had just happened, and because from that day forward a spiritual force answering to the description of it is to be observed in active operation. There is moreover a strong probability, upon psychological grounds, that that force would appear as a sudden irruption in the manner described. It would be almost as proper to date the era from that pentecostal effusion as from the birth of Jesus. It is of equal importance and as essential to the founding of his kingdom in the world, as he in turn was essential to its appearance and operation. Yet it was not altogether a new thing; for as one cannot write an adequate history of Jesus who begins only at his birth, so the operation of that spirit

The new
spiritual
force.

is to be discovered long before that occurrence. It is discernibly present throughout the whole of that specialized course of history which led up to and made possible the birth of such an one as the man of Nazareth. It is in fact the specializing element in that history. It is because of its presence and persistence that that history took and followed — and when it swerved from it for a time always returned to — its particular path, and so kept on until it eventuated in the way it did.

Naturally in the earlier stages of that special history the appearances of the spirit are elusive, and the difficulty in tracing its operations in chronological order is increased

The spirit
of Moses.

by the fact that the history itself of those early times was rewritten under its inspiration. It is not always easy to say how much of it which appears in the history as written was in that history as acted. To determine that would require a more exhaustive critical investigation than can here be attempted. The loss of the advantage, however, which would accrue from such critical inquiry need occasion less regret, since the larger results of our study would not be much changed by taking an extreme position either way.¹ It is significant that

¹ In the absence of an independent determination, the lucid arrangement in Bruce's *Apologetics* has been adopted in a general way for this and the next lecture. Those to whom its conservatism is offensive may remember that others are still more offended by its liberalism. If it be true, as is here contended, that this spiritual force is the specific factor in Hebrew life and literature,

critics are more ready to admit the antiquity of the specific spirit of Hebrew history than of much that purports to be history itself. That Moses did the particular things in detail attributed to him might be denied by many who would readily admit that a hero of that name lived and imparted imperishable spiritual qualities to that history. The one most characteristic work attributed to Moses, and which is insisted upon as his by many who are not disposed to insist upon much else, is the Decalogue. Yet there are many "who doubt or deny the Mosaic origin of the Ten Words, while admitting that they reflect the spirit of the Mosaic religion."¹ We may, therefore, regard it as a moderately tenable position if we assume that we know what was the spirit of Moses,² and that that spirit exercised such specializing influence as was exercised in the beginnings of Hebrew history.

As this brings us back to the period of contact with Egypt, we are led to note the contrast between the Mosaic spirit as manifested in the Decalogue and the spirit of Egyptian religion and life. The one appeals to man

Contrast
with the
Egyptian
spirit.

then the desired consensus of opinion upon these matters cannot be expected to antedate the scientific study of this force. From our point of view, therefore, it would be premature to attempt other than a tentative chronology.

¹ Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 209.

² "We shall, therefore, at most be able to arrive at the spirit of Mosaism." "There is no doubt that he sought to impress his spirit upon the elect of his nation, and thus provide himself with successors in his work." Piepenbring, *Theol. of O. T.*, pp. 10, 11.

on his nobler, the other on his meaner side. The Decalogue makes no reference to rewards or punishments after death. The omission cannot be due to ignorance of such a doctrine ; for Egyptian life was built wholly upon it, and there is no lack of evidence that the authors of Mosaism, whoever they may have been, were acquainted with Egypt. By this doctrine of future rewards and punishments the Egyptians had been brought into a futile and childish battle with, and a non-moral preparation for death, and as a consequence an utter bondage to priestcraft in its worst forms. The whole attitude of the Egyptian towards the subject was foolish, selfish, morbid, slavish : it smelled of the charnel house, and has perpetuated that taint to this day. It was a mephitic spirit like a miasm from the swamps of the lower Nile. The wholesome tone of the Hebrew reacted against this. Instead of saying, Do right for Osiris is to judge you, it says, Do right for Jehovah has been good to you. The appeal is to gratitude. Moreover, where elsewhere rewards are promised or punishments threatened the Hebrew, they are not personal as in the Egyptian system, where the appeal is to selfishness ; they are national, and appeal to the generous spirit of patriotism.

A similar contrast is noticeable in the contents of the Decalogue, as compared with, for instance, the precepts enjoined in the Egyptian "Book of the Dead." The fundamental

Ethical
tone.

Hebrew law excludes everything of a merely ritual character, while the Egyptian mingles promiscuously the sins of uncleanness, perjury, injustice, inhumanity, with those of neglecting religious ceremonies, trapping sacred birds, lifting sacred cattle, or letting the perpetual lamp go out. The Hebrew had mastered the distinction, as the Egyptian had not, between moral duties and technical religious ceremonies.¹ The God who is thought of as requiring only obedience to moral law is one who seeks men's own good and not his own. Such is the God of the Decalogue. That code is wholly moral, not only in the sense of being free from ceremonial elements, but in the sense that all of its provisions aim at the good of men themselves or their neighbors.

The custom of distinguishing between the first and second tables as respecting duties to God and duties to men, is responsible for the frequent failure to perceive this. All duties are duties to God, and all specific duties are owing to ourselves or our fellows. If the distinction between the two tables is to be maintained, it might with as much propriety be said that the first table consists of duties to ourselves, and forbids vices, while the second consists of duties to our fellows, and forbids crimes; while all consist of duties to God, and forbid sins. The prohibition of polytheism is a charter of freedom from too much religion of low

¹ Bruce, *Apologetics*, p. 217.

quality, and has its occasion in the evils which the worship of many gods had entailed upon Egypt. The fascinations of image-worship, and the vices and degradation which grew out of it, also stood out as a warning. In the same category was the use of the divine names as conjurors' catchwords, which degraded those names and robbed them of their value as vehicles of higher aspiration and true religious worship. These prohibitions in the first three commandments were all for their own good and that of their neighbors and children. They were equivalent to the warning not to make a vice of religion, not to poison the fountain of true religious life, not to block the avenues of true personal intercourse between God and man, — not for God's sake so much as for their own.¹ The institution or resuscitation of the Sabbath had a humanitarian rather than a ritual motive; the Deuteronomic edition of the code gives the truer insight into it.² It was established as an offset to the life of slavery which had brought all days to the common level of unsanctified drudgery, and in spirit its chief emphasis was upon the enjoinder that dependents be permitted the privileges of the day of rest. If the distinction between the two

¹ "Is it not self-evident that the only motive God can have in giving or making known a law is the well-being of man? But as he does not impose any law for the mere sake of imposing it, so he does not impose or make known any law for his own sake." Stanley Leathes, *Foundations of Morality*, p. 67.

² Deut. v. 6-21.

tables is to be emphasized, this fourth commandment belongs rather to the second than to the first table. The universalistic character of the second table is acknowledged. The first is equally universal when viewed from the moral side. The whole is characteristically human, and valid for all mankind.

The humanitarian rather than religious character of the Decalogue is rather in its spirit than in what we may call its idea. Undoubtedly its author was ruled by religious conceptions, and spoke in the name of Jehovah, and put forth at least some of this legislation in what might be said to be Jehovah's interest. Perhaps the whole of it would have been justified to his own consciousness on the ground that Jehovah desired it for his own sake. Yet it is easy to perceive that while its purpose was religious, its spirit was humanitarian. The Mosaic religion differed from the Egyptian and prompted to the enjoinder of different duties in a different way from that of the Egyptian, because the Mosaic spirit was so distinctly humanitarian. It humanized the religion.

To say that the Mosaic legislation is distinctively non-ritual is not to deny that the ritual legislation of the Pentateuch may have been Mosaic in substance, or even to a great extent in detail. The substance of the ritual is probably not only as old as Moses, but much older. It would have been impossible, had it been

Spirit rather
than idea.

The ritual.

wise, for him to abolish it. His legislation in such matters could only have been regulative and restrictive. If ritual could be kept in its place it could be of great service as a means to the culture of genuine piety and righteousness. Even as regards the ritual, therefore, the Mosaic spirit is in it, whether his hand was there or not, and this is manifest by the effort, not to create or enjoin it, but so to bring it under control, that on the one hand it should not breed frivolity or licentiousness, and on the other hand should be the servant and not the superior or the equal of the law of righteousness.

Another noteworthy illustration of the humanitarian spirit of the Mosaic movement appears in the fact that; whoever may have been re-
Faith in the
people.
 sponsible for it, it is marked by a breaking away from the esoteric principle which kept the higher faith of that age the exclusive property of the few. Not only a benevolent regard for but a hearty faith in men was involved in that act by which the purer doctrine and morals in all their majesty and simplicity were given away to a body of escaped slaves. This has been well expressed by a recent story-writer who makes one of his characters, an Egyptian priest, speak to a Hebrew youth as follows: "In the days of the great Rameses thy people were shepherds in Goshen. A child of the race, the son of Amram, was adopted by the daughter of the Pharaoh, and sat among the

priests of the realm. At On and at Thebes he was taught, . . . and was initiated into the profoundest mysteries of our ancient faith, truths known at any one time to but seven souls in all Egypt. In time he fled to Midian. There he pondered these mysteries, and the Soul of the Gods talked with him. Then he came and led out his people. At Sinai he told them all, brickmakers and herdsmen, what in Egypt was reserved for the innermost circle of the priesthood. . . . The future is with thy people. . . . Set free by that voice at Horeb, the son of Amram could make a nation of priests.”¹ Here is no faint glimmer of the spirit of him who desired his disciples to keep no secrets but to proclaim from the housetops all that he had taught them in private, and who had more faith in the capacity for truth of outcasts, than in the highest scholarship of the age if it was ruled by pride.

Another fundamental contrast which could not have failed to affect the mind of the creator of the Decalogue, is found in the fact that he confronted not only Egypt but also the Semitic peoples with their Baals, so conceived as to insure the prevalence of licentiousness and sacred prostitution. Semitic heathenism is stamped with unmentionable vileness, and with the cruelty and treachery that always accompany sensuality. No true social relationship, and consequently no enduring civilization, could exist under the Baals.

Semitic
spirit.

¹ *The Son of a Prophet*, G. A. Jackson, pp. 323, 326.

The spirit of Mosaism revolted against the Semitic cult as it did against the Egyptian.

Thus at the beginning of Hebrew history, whatever else may be difficult of determination, the spirit is unmistakable. It is admitted where more material historical data are denied or doubted. It is not necessary, therefore, to enter the critical arena to vindicate its assertion. It is the kind of spirit too which we have agreed to observe, one of the purely phenomenal type. If any would affirm a spirit of another class, one which entered the world of phenomena from without, and produced effects whose causes could not be regarded as belonging to the visible universe, it is neither necessary nor possible to dispute with him. He is simply engaged in another field of research, by another method, perhaps as legitimate in its way as ours. In the world of observable phenomena, however, this Hebrew spirit is found, of undeniable reality, fairly distinguishable as an independent fact, a specific force or cause.

It is a secondary phenomenon, to be sure, as all spirits of this class are. It is spirit *of* something. Precisely what it is the spirit of is as yet difficult to determine with exactness, and in this lies the promise of its further development. It is the spirit of Moses; yet hints are not wanting that to Moses it came from persons or traditions, or possibly literary fragments, already well charged with spiritual energy. The

Probably
very an-
cient.

story has the marks of truthlikeness which intimate that the specific influences came from the ancient Hebrew traditions, but that Moses was hospitable to spiritual tendencies from other sources; so that in him may have been localized vague and diffused spiritual potencies to which his personality gave a coherency and definite impulse, somewhat analogous to that which was given in more perfect measure by that prophet "like unto him," who came at the end of the national development.

In many respects the operations and manifestations of this spirit were only inchoate. It touched life with meliorating rather than perfecting power. It declared that divorce and slavery should be under more or less beneficent restrictions. It attempted to secure for the poor and the stranger a fair measure of equity. It restrained religious extravagances, and sought to avoid making religion the pander to lust, or the instrument of priestcraft. It could have gone no farther than this without wholly losing its touch with the people. As it was it kept far enough in advance of the age to be frequently lost sight of. It is not probable that this accommodation to the circumstances of the time was conscious on the part of the founder of the nation, and the framer of its legislation. It is more likely that his own vision did not extend nearly as far as may appear to us, that he was guided by a spirit of whose range he was unaware, and whose angle of curvature no

Betterment
rather than
perfection.

mind had worked out, a spirit which, so far as appeared in the phenomenal world, was still less than half formed.

Yet though but inceptive, as the embryo gives promise and seems to contain the potency of the full-grown organism, so this spirit has in it that which fulfilled itself in Jesus. ^{Spiritual germ.}

Its operations are manifold, and the illustrations of it here referred to are but a few among the many that might be adduced. It has been found, like all spirits of this kind, to be dependent for its manifestation upon special individuals. Those who deny to Moses the prominent place which tradition assigns him in the early history of Israel, simply on the ground of the tendency of antiquity to magnify the individual, forget that antiquity was not far wrong in regarding the biography of the few as the history of the many. Moses may not have performed all the deeds ascribed to him. But it is fairly certain that, with the help of a few others, he infused into Hebrew history that spirit which never afterwards ceased to characterize it.

At the same time it was in the fullest sense a social spirit. That concerning which there is a complete consensus of opinion with regard to the founder of the Hebrew state ^{Social force.} was his disinterestedness. He lived in and for others. And his interest was for men as such, so that he preferred a miserable mob of runaway slaves to the magnificence of court life. That at least

is the spirit of Mosaism. The specific thing about the spirit of the Hebrew nation is that it sets to work to develop and better manhood in its true character, in its distinctively human possibilities. It is for the people. Its great men came from and live for the people. Its heroes always have a constituency; it is not always, indeed, a very loyal or admirable one; they are not always admirable themselves; yet on the whole they are sufficiently representative, so that there will be those to keep their memory green and perpetuate their influence. They are sure of posterity at any rate.

As a social force this spirit socializes religion, and imposes upon its conceptions and usages the laws of right human relationships. It improves the family life and begets the nation. What it is particularly concerned in when it first comes within the field of our observation is nation-making. At the same time it has in it elements of true universalism. It forms a nation out of most diverse elements, probably but a small proportion of the original components of the Hebrew state being pure-blooded Israelites. It welcomes the foreigner and permits him to amalgamate and gain citizenship. It refuses alliances with other nations for excellent reasons, one of which was that an alliance with one involved hostility toward all others. Cosmopolitanism in social and religious and political matters that involved sharing the vices and superstitions and

feuds of outside peoples, it shunned. True cosmopolitanism in the way of genuine incorporation of strangers into its own life, fair diplomatic give and take, and religious universalism, it encouraged.

Thus we are able to perceive at the beginning of the Hebrew national development a spirit at work, which, if it ever fulfils its promise, is destined to socialize all human relationships; and, as a means to and a result of this, fully to socialize religion and thereby theology. This is the specific factor in Hebrew history.

II.

IN the anarchical independence which marked the period of the Judges in Israel, one would not at first recognize the same spirit which operated in the creative age of Moses. Age of disorganization. Close observation, however, shows that these events are caused by the same spiritual influence adapting itself to changed conditions. The age when each man did what was right in his own eyes was in fact one of the most distinctive products of the early Hebrew spirit, even that of Moses himself. For he had a spell of lawlessness growing out of an inherent disrespect for that law which was made for the benefit of the few and the oppression of the many. If that part of Moses' biography is a myth it is the work of an extraordinarily skillful myth-maker. Moses' flight to Midian was caused by his characteristic and manly disinterestedness; and when the Hebrew tribes refused for some centuries to settle down to civilized life they obeyed the promptings of the same spirit. The civilizations about them were artificial and moribund. A return to nature and savagery was better than such civilization: and so these tribes, abiding the time when they could begin to evolve the elements of a

social order of their own, preferred to live in outlawry, submitting occasionally, in an emergency, to rude arbitrators who showed native strength and instincts of justice. Such a policy was, of course, never consciously proposed; but the spirit of him who defied Egyptian law, and fled from even the highest advantages of its culture, had imparted this instinct to them. There have been civilizations that were worse than nothing, and such would have been the best they could have borrowed. They must create one of their own. The Red Indian cruelty and relentlessness, as Renan calls it, of the Hebrews of that period were hardly exceptional, — they were but the birth pangs of a new civilization; and all birth is cruel. “Nations at their birth are ferocious.”¹

The very choice of a location for these tribes was in no small part prompted by that spirit. For they were on one of those spots of ground which nature had designed as the ^{The spirit} ^{and the land.} refuge of those who could not live in harmony with any of the established orders. All creators of new civilizations must face outlawry from the old. A band of outlaws built imperial Rome on the worthless section of rock and marsh, where deadly fevers and the triangular jealousies of three powerful states guaranteed to them a kind of turbulent security; and myth was doubtless not all myth when it attributed to them from the first something of

¹ Renan, *History of People of Israel*, vol. i., pp. 196-198.

the spirit of empire-building, though their ideas may have been narrow, and their motives sordid enough. Likewise Israel's position was not all of chance. The men chose the place as much as the place made the men. The two had an affinity. In an age of repression and hollowness and vice, when nothing genuine or free or progressive was tolerated, when dead and empty and corrupt conventionalisms were supreme throughout civilization, men could breathe deeply only on the frontiers. The strong, the natural, the unconventional rallied then, as they do to-day, upon the geographical or religious or philosophical boundaries, where as frontiersmen they laid the foundation of future empires whose superstructures they were not to see. Thus Israel found opportunity to begin to solve the problem of destiny in a land where he could remain barbarous as long as his best instincts required; while yet he was in such contact with all civilization as to permit the exercise of his selective spirit upon elements which might be desirable.

It is not improbable that this spirit very early began to exert its influence in choosing the natural conditions under which the Hebrew nation was to spend its youth. The stream of spiritual impulse spontaneously flows, like other forces, along the lines of least resistance, and these lines had always led towards Palestine. Ever since the centres of civilization had begun to group themselves about the Mediterranean that

Early move-
ments.

land had held a place of strategic importance, and it is probable that, for ages before the Hebrew exodus, it had been the goal of those who sought new scenes to live greater and more human lives than could be permitted elsewhere. That Abraham sought it from similar motives has an air of probability, as also that he found and revered others who had come before him under the guidance of the same spirit.¹ The existence on Mount Moriah of a sanctuary whose priesthood was exceptionally pure has been recently shown.² It is not incredible, therefore, that this spirit had been in Palestine long before the advent of the first of the Hebrews, that from time immemorial it had had one of its chief seats among these hills.

This spirit, however, did not flee civilization and resort to anarchy because it was a spirit of anarchy, but because it was hostile to insincerity. The existing civilizations were Construc-
tion begins. oppressive, cruel, corrupt, unspeakably abominable shams. After a time the very same spirit began to construct, and the Hebrew tribes are found demanding a king; and, through their allegiance to the prophet who stood most nearly for the same ancient Mosaic spirit, the choice fell upon one, Saul. Personally not up to the standard of that spirit, moody, gloomy, superstitious, ungenial, yet, with all his faults, Saul was not an oriental despot. He was distinctively a product of Hebrew life, and

¹ Gen. xiv. 18-20; Heb. vii. 1-11.

² A. H. Sayce, in *S. S. Times*, Dec. 13, 1890, and elsewhere.

as a first step in the evolution of an original civilization he was a success, and the spirit acted unerringly in his selection.

In his successor, David, we have the Hebrew spirit embodied in another hero of almost the dimensions of Moses. Peccable as he was personally, the spirit of David was so far the best expression of that of Hebrew nationality. He came at a crisis when a new hero was needed. Samuel had done much, both to bring on and to prepare for meeting this crisis, making progress in ethicalizing and nationalizing the prophetic school and type of character. But Samuel's day had passed, and David, the warrior, poet, and constructive statesman, took up the new task. With his long reign the work of unifying the Hebrew nation was for the time complete. Although the extension of his kingdom served high ends, and was needed to give wings to the national imagination, and to set before it the idea of world conquest, afterwards so fruitful in undreamed-of ways, yet it approached the danger line. As a political unit the Hebrew power came into direct competition and comparison with other powers on the sides where it was certain to be out-measured, because its strength, unlike theirs, lay in its spirit. The temptation to introduce their methods and temper into Hebrew life proved too strong for David's successor, whose reign of seeming prosperity was but a preparation for a catastrophe.

Yet Solomon's cosmopolitanism was not wholly false. In some respects it was swayed by the Hebrew spirit; and though it brought on a new crisis, it was on the whole a ^{Solomon.} genuine and necessary contribution to the life of the nation. Had Israel not risked a premature universalism under Solomon, she might have been unready for a riper expression of her broad spirit later. But toward the close of the reign of the magnificent monarch the tide turned the other way. The kingdom had been orientalized. Religion was becoming the cloak for vice and oppression, which the Hebrew spirit would not endure. Taxation was growing unbearable, and resistance to it patriotism. Because Solomon's successor could not be made to understand with what an invincible spirit he had to deal, he went on blindly in his contemptuous disregard of its warnings, until the kingdom was rent in twain.

Disruption was the most fortunate thing that could happen under the circumstances, and it alone saved the nation. It is not difficult to discover the Hebrew spirit or ^{Disruption a blessing.} genius in it. Henceforth while the parts remained politically separate they were spiritually one, and it was easier for them to be spiritually one because they were politically two. The fact led to a kind of distinction between the temporal and spiritual power. The spiritual organism was less liable to become identical with and to lose itself

in the political organism. The political duality forced the prophets to emerge as a class of men outside official life, and with a personal independence which threw the best of them out of sympathy sometimes even with one another. While now there was always a certain substratum of political order in the lower affairs of life, in regard to the higher and more refined interests the prophetic spirit brought back a sort of anarchism much like that of the age of the judges. When in times of emergency they brought their moral influence to bear, they were stronger than the kings on the throne, so that they were feared and often hated by the representatives of the materialistic order for which the throne stood. They cared nothing for frontiers. To their minds there was but one nation. Wars between the two kingdoms they regarded as civil conflicts. Hence through them the nation remained one in spirit; and when the fortunes of war wiped one of the kingdoms out of existence, the other was the heir to that wealth of historical achievement and tradition which could not be made spoil of, and the refuge of such of its citizens as escaped slavery and remained true to the genius of Hebraism.

Of the line of prophets who revived the ancient spirit of Mosaism, and held the nation to it in the face of corruption and danger, the first and one of the most conspicuous is the hero Elijah. Although perhaps somewhat ob-

Elijah the
prophet.

scured or distorted by the haze of distance, and with an outward success of but brief duration, Elijah is undoubtedly to be ranked among the great history-makers. His intolerant zeal for the sole service of Jehovah, against the foul and cruel worship of the Tyrian Baal, is easily explained, not by narrowness, but by depth and purity of religious and moral spirit. Jealousy is a just attitude in a worshiper of an ethical God like Jehovah, against a Phœnician deity. The key to Elijah's public conduct is found in his denunciation of Ahab in the matter of the forcible taking of Naboth's vineyard, a crime, too, which the history faithfully traces to the demoralizing influence of the Baal worship, and its corresponding moral tone.

What is true of Elijah is equally true of the line of prophets beginning with Amos. Their attacks upon the established order all have an unselfish motive and an ethical basis. They are consumed with a passion for righteousness, and are firmly persuaded that the world is being governed by a power that makes for righteousness, a God who is as much in earnest about getting the right done as they are themselves, and who is nauseated by a mere ritual holiness. "I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I

Amos and
his line.

regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs ; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream," is the language put by the spirit into the mouth of Amos.¹ Even in Hosea, where the religious rather than the ethical is said to predominate, we find the declaration " I desired mercy and not sacrifice ; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." ² In thus exalting morality above ritual the prophets manifested their loyalty to the spirit of Mosaism.

A further manifestation of this spirit is seen in their compassionate temper. They are every-
Ethics of the prophets.
where the champions of the oppressed, the poor, and him that hath no helper.
To them one of the fundamental divine attributes is "mercy," and when they speak of "justice" they mean by it the right doing towards those who are inferior in power to assert their rights. When they dwelt upon the divine justice, it was not to gloat over the punishment of the guilty, but to rejoice at his championship of the injured. "To do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly" was the sum of virtue, beside which ritual observances counted for nothing. ³ "He judged the cause of the poor and needy ; . . . was not this to know me ?" saith Jehovah. ⁴ They are moreover

¹ Amos v. 21. 24.

³ Mic. vi. 6-8.

² Hosea vi. 6.

⁴ Jer. xxii. 16.

exquisitely sensitive on the matter of sincerity. Religion divorced from right conduct was to them one of the meanest forms of untruth: and still more abominable was vice masquerading under the cloak of religion. The habit of borrowing even true religious phrases, instead of learning their meaning by experience, was stigmatized by Jeremiah as a form of theft.¹ Yet this healthy and genial spirit, full of tenderness for all who suffer, and hostile to all vices and injustice, has in it no trace of asceticism. They say no word against the enjoyment of life according to one's opportunity. The contrast between their spirit and that of the Brahmans and Buddhists of India in respect to self-tortures and ascetic renunciations is most noticeable.

With their moral intensity and their zeal for the betterment of the conditions of life, it was important that they combine a strong faith Their faith. in the righteous government of their God, and the ultimate triumph of his rule. That faith was often sorely tried. Problems which appeared insoluble were crowded upon them. Men less well-grounded in a religious confidence in the divine supremacy of righteousness would have been driven to despair, or tempted to take refuge in the darkening of the mind through ritualism. Sometimes the cry of impatience is "How long, O Jehovah, how long?" but the spirit of faith

¹ Jer. xxiii. 30.

triumphs, and one of the characteristics of the prophets, in spite of these occasional outbreaks, is the air of patient waiting for the solutions not vouchsafed. The power to wait, as Moses in the Arabian desert, is one of the elements of strength in the men who have left permanent marks upon the world's history. "I will wait upon Jehovah, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob," says Isaiah.¹ "Blessed are all they that wait for him."² "He that believeth shall not make haste."³

These men are very frank, and sometimes complain to God. There is no hypocritical cringing or servility. If they feel like it, they are not afraid to expostulate with Jehovah. Their frankness. "Let me talk with Thee of thy judgments: wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously?"⁴ "Wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he?"⁵ Such outspokenness must have been very refreshing to a God wearied with the sycophancy of hypocrites.⁶ Habakkuk cannot understand why a power like that of the Chaldeans is permitted to crush a nation like Israel, which,

¹ Isa. viii. 17.² Isa. xxx. 18.³ Isa. xxviii. 16.⁴ Jer. xii. 1.⁵ Hab. i. 13.

⁶ The heathen who occasionally punishes his idol is in a hopeful state. He is not a safe subject for human tyranny. Until a man has the self-respect to hold his God to a standard, he is not fit to have either a religion or a social life.

in spite of her sins, is vastly more righteous than her oppressors; while Jeremiah is perplexed by the prosperity of evil men within the nation, and the sufferings of the righteous, himself among them. The experience of Jeremiah, the hero of unmerited sorrow, was one of the object-lessons which brought up the whole problem of the relation between righteousness and prosperity. Out of the contemplation of his life came some of the psalms, it may be the book of Job, where the Hebrew spirit grapples, with conspicuous though not final success, with this enigma.¹

One of the notable triumphs of the Hebrew spirit is seen in the way in which it marshaled the spiritual and moral forces of the nation to confront the issue of the Assyrian invasion. It was the issue of physical weakness against invincible strength; and the rapid mobilization of the spiritual forces, the reconstruction of the national religious and moral conceptions in the face of the enemy, and the shout of defiance that went up, and has echoed down the centuries, were magnificent.²

The undaunted optimism of the Hebrew spirit was one of the chief elements of its power. Without this it could not have held on its course against the current of facts. For its passion for righteousness had to be maintained in the face of the carnival of crime and licentious-

¹ Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*.

² Isa. x., xi.

ness and injustice which was continually going on. It was a light shining in a dark place, and because of its hopefulness the darkness could not swallow it up.¹ Optimism and the moral interest, which are usually at odds, managed in this case to stimulate and complement each other. Against every black background of present moral evil painted by one, the other throws a bright picture of the future. "Ah, sinful nation! a people laden with iniquity!"² says the moralist; and the optimist responds, "Thy people also shall be all righteous."³ Where that seemed incredible at least "a remnant" should be found. When exile and bondage came, as, in the eye of the prophet, the manifest punishment for sin, and optimism predicted a restoration, the moral judgment responded again with the conviction that the old weary round of transgression would follow, and again in turn optimism followed with its happy thought of a new covenant, a law written not on stone tablets but on the heart.⁴ And so morality and optimism, chanting their antiphonal, rose towards the climax of messianic anticipation.

This optimistic tone could not have persisted if like most optimism it had depended upon tempera-
 Ground of it. ment. The ethical temperament is not spontaneously hopeful. It is despondent and querulous. But the spirit which ruled the

¹ John i. 5, R. V.

² Isa. i. 4.

³ Isa. lx. 21.

⁴ Jer. xxiv. 7.

prophets was not subjective or temperamental. It was a religious and historical spirit, which had existed before them, had come to them from without, and had produced and cherished such a conception of God as to give the basis for a sound optimism. Jehovah had, as the Hebrew thought, chosen Israel; and he was a God of grace and mercy, long-suffering and forgiving, who was not content to set before men an impossible moral standard in order to entrap them when they failed to realize it, but who was interested in helping them to realize it. "Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? He retaineth not his anger forever, because he delighteth in mercy. He will turn again, he will have compassion upon us; he will . . . cast all their sins into the depths of the sea." ¹ "I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely." ²

This optimism, based upon the idea of a merciful and forgiving God, stimulates the prophets to the creation of utopias. These utopias, ^{Utopias.} differing greatly among themselves, some political, some ethical, and others religious, all bear the common stamp of the Hebrew spirit. That of Amos is pure patriotism, proclaimed in the face of threatened national extinction.³ Isaiah describes an ideal king and a political millennium.⁴ Maturer

¹ Mic. vii. 18, 19.

² Hos. xiv. 4.

³ Amos ix. 11-15.

⁴ Isa. xi. 1-5.

thought leads later prophets to realize that a political utopia without a regenerated people cannot be the *Summum Bonum*, and Jeremiah thinks out his ideal of a new covenant with the law written upon the heart. He still retains his loyalty to the nation and to the notion of a king,¹ whose name is to be "Jehovah our Righteousness." Ezekiel is much influenced by Jeremiah, but because of his situation leans more towards the notion of a ritual. It is, however, a ritual which is to be a means to the regeneration which Jeremiah desired.² With the prophet of the exile comes a religious utopia. The king and the nation are both lost sight of in a conception of Israel as a prophet or servant of Jehovah, bringing salvation even to the heathen. "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."³ And this profound observer did not fail to discover from his point of vantage that with this high calling must come also tribulation. "He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief."⁴ This prophet reaches the highest summit of Hebrew optimism, and there, confronting the spirit of pessimism, triumphantly looks it out of countenance.

While the experience of history leads to higher and more refined and profound conceptions, the

¹ Jer. xxiii. 5, 6.

² Ezek. xlviii. 35.

³ Isa. xlix. 6.

⁴ Isa. liii. 3.

spirit is the same in all the Hebrew utopias. It was able to maintain, against the apparent verdict of history, the ancient faith in a divine election for Israel. For the belief in Jehovah as the national God, it was able to substitute, in obedience to the spirit, if not the explicit teaching of Moses and the choicer minds of earlier times, the idea that Jehovah was the universal God, who had chosen Israel, — a distinctively nobler conception.¹ Then when that doctrine had been degraded in the vulgar mind into a belief that Israel was to the supreme God as a favorite to an oriental king,² the spirit hinted that he would punish Israel for her sins even more severely than other nations, because he loved her and would not permit her to corrupt herself. Again, as other disillusionments came with the hard fortunes of history, the idea of election was further purified, until the voice out of the exile proclaimed that it meant election to the mission of vicarious suffering, as an innocent victim; and the appeal in behalf of righteousness was based upon the importance of the victim's purifying itself for the altar. The eternally chosen people was a lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

One of the things which could not escape the attention of men who were under the influence of

¹ Piepenbring, *Theology of Old Testament*, pp. 29-34, 91.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 320 f.

The spirit
common to
them.

the Hebrew spirit, and who interpreted history in its light, was the significance which might attach to a single individual. The normal spirit of the race¹ had given to Israel a normal national history in many respects, and in none more than in the part which had been played by heroes. The prophets knew how a great man, a hero, might "be as an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."² And so the Hebrew optimism was on the outlook for a "Man," a "Messiah," another prophet "like unto Moses," a "son of David." In expecting a man upon whom should turn the greater destinies of the nation, it was obeying a general law of history. The uniqueness consists partly in the fact that the Hebrew spirit caused that general law to be more distinctly perceived, and partly in its having called into existence a series of great men, genetically related to one another in their specific public missions, such as no other race or nation ever produced.

Great men themselves may be regarded as accidental. But the number of such men who are

¹ Renan, *History of People of Israel*, pp. 52, 53. "The Semitic peoples, who are most richly endowed with the spirit of the race." "The greater prophets, who were the purest representatives of the spirit of the race."

² Isa. xxxii. 2. See Cheyne *in loco*.

born and die without a chance to realize their possibilities, "mute inglorious Miltons," is beyond computation. When great men ^{Heroes.} and great opportunities are both of sporadic occurrence, the coincidence of the man and the opportunity is necessarily, according to the law of probabilities, rare. There being no particular kinship between the two, nor any continuity between the series of opportunities, progress is at hap-hazard. The great men who appeared in other parts of the world have been largely of this lonely and sporadic kind. There was no precedent in favor of them, no general opportunity for them, no standing chance awaiting them, no social force ready to be enlisted by them, no set of traditions large enough for them to fit into and to pass on with cumulative energy. Socrates and Buddha and Zoroaster had to cut away too absolutely from the traditions. It was different in Israel. The Hebrew spirit had created a movement large enough so that, however great a man might be, and however he might quarrel with his contemporaries, he was never quite alone. He always belonged to "the goodly fellowship of the prophets." While, therefore, it is true that all historical movements count upon the services of great men, it is preëminently true of the Hebrew movement. And though it be admitted that the greatest of these men were seldom discovered until they had been stoned to death, the fact still remains that

theirs was the ruling spirit of the ages of this history.

It was therefore inevitable that the Hebrew spirit should make that history prolific in great men; so that in the long run the exceptional man ceases to be exceptional. It was equally certain that in forming its utopian ideals it should dwell with special emphasis upon the hope of a man who should do for the spirit in its culminating work what had again and again been done for it in its preliminary stages, — gather all of its potency up into his personality, and project it into the future with his personal energy. Just as surely, since the spirit was a social spirit, would it create the ideal of a perfect society, and then oscillate between the man and the society without quite striking the balance. Thus the creation of the messianic expectation, the “Hope of Israel,” with its not quite harmonized elements of anticipation concerning an individual Messiah and a social utopia, was the fruit of this spirit.

It was the spirit of the nation which preserved it through the Babylonian captivity, and kept it so true to its ideals that its conqueror found it was more profitable to permit the reëstablishment of the Jewish state than to continue to hold such an ardent and invincibly patriotic people in bondage. The change from Hebraism into Judaism is a point where many

Double mes-
sianic antici-
pation.

Rise of
Judaism.

students are puzzled. It seems like a lapse, a backward movement. Hebraism created the messianic ideal, a messianic nation, and the noblest part of a messianic literature. Judaism created a ritual system and a narrow sect, and scribism with its zeal for the exact number of words and letters in its sacred text. Is not this a fall? Perhaps. There is nothing in the nature of the Hebrew spirit which requires it to be adjudged a failure, though it should not always march straight onward without reaction. Though it disappeared from the history, was lost out of the religion and the daily life of Judaism, and became latent for centuries like a dried seed in the literature, that would not invalidate the claim of Peter that the spiritual phenomenon occurring at Pentecost was that which had been predicted by Joel, and a further claim that there had been no real break in the line of causation between the operation of the spirit which created the few older prophets and their writings, and that which now gave fair promise of making prophets of all. A spirit which is able to create a dynamical literature¹ has already become largely independent of other external historical modes of embodiment.

As a fact, however, the change from Hebraism to Judaism was prompted by the spirit of Hebraism itself. Hebraism was radi-

The Hebrew
spirit pro-
duced it.

cal and progressive; Judaism was con-

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 15, τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα . . . τὰ δυνάμενά.

servative and cautious. The time had come for the Hebrew spirit to play that part, that it might store its energies for a new forward movement. Hebraism as it had been could not belong to the many. It could serve the many, but could be understood and shared only by those especially endowed. Judaism was a scheme to mediate it to the people. Thus we are not surprised to discover that it is the distinctively Hebrew spirit and interest that creates Judaism. The priests who contrived the ritual, or who gave new authority and more definite form to the traditional system, were prophet-priests,¹ and wrought from prophetic motives and with prophetic foresight. It has been said by some that, while the substance of the Levitical ordinances existed since Moses or longer, they were only tolerated; they were not God's word. That is to say, that they were not the organ of the specifically Hebrew spirit. It had permitted and regulated them, but had not used them for its special ends. This is not improbable. Nor is it improbable that, at the time of the exile, the spirit, seeking means whereby to maintain the ancient Mosaic Hebraism against fearful odds,² made these old

¹ Bruce, *Apologetics*, pp. 264 f.

² "No power was so purely Israelitish as this (the spirit), and in the midst of the exile and of foreign surroundings it could on this account occur to the prophet as such a special power, high and long holy to Israel, far earlier than to the prophets who lived in great numbers in the old Fatherland itself." Ewald, *Revelation*, p. 277.

channels of ritual observance its own, and poured itself through them into the future.

The time had come for the Hebrew spirit to form or find for itself a husk to protect it while it ripened toward a more perfect consummation. It partly found and partly made the Levitical ritual. Parts of it were Priest-prophet and Scribe-prophet. perhaps older than Moses. Parts had been negatively adapted to the Mosaic spirit by the lawgiver himself, curbing its excesses and pruning away its excrescences. Through the ages since it had suffered vicissitudes, now being demoralized by priestcraft, and now revised by reforming zeal. At last it is enriched and revised by a group of priest-prophets to serve a most important end. While suspiciously like the surrounding heathenism in the stress it lays upon the ritual, it is essentially different in its secret and its motive. Its secret kernel is a living seed of spiritual potency of unknown potentiality. In its motive it does not mean to identify ritual and morality. It merely lays emphasis upon ritual for the time being, as an instrument to hold Israel loyal to ancient Hebraism and to the hope for the future. "The promoters of this reforming movement," says Bruce,¹ "might very well have the feeling that they were true to the spirit of Moses, and doing their best to preserve intact the Mosaic religion." What they did may not have been the ideal thing. Yet what

¹ *Apologetics*, p. 266.

would have been ideal in the circumstances? They were practical statesmen, and one of the elements of their ideal thing must be that it be workable. Can anything better be conceived in the circumstances than to reconstruct the history and the religious forms of Israel, and to cause them to minister to the education of the people in the living traditions of their race? Ezra may have been a mere scribe; but not the less he was an epoch-maker like Moses,¹ and through him and methods which he began to devise and execute Mosaism was resuscitated and preserved and transmitted. We may complain of the slavish loyalty of these scribes to the letter of the sacred writings; and then in the same breath inconsistently declare that they produced the writings themselves. In either case they are deserving of honor. For they either created, or selected and canonized the most remarkable set of writings the world had seen. No body of men could have performed either of these services to ancient Hebraism who had not become deeply imbued with the spirit of that Hebraism.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 268. Driver, *Introduction to O. T. Lit.*, p. xxviii. "There exists no ground whatever for questioning the testimony of the compiler of the Book of Ezra, which *brings Ezra into connection with the Law*. . . . Ezra, the priest and scribe, was in some way noted for his services in connection with the Law. . . . What these services were we do not certainly know, . . . but the term 'scribe' and the form of the representation in Ezra iv. would suggest that they were of a literary character." The epochal character of Ezra, like that of Moses, does not depend upon his having done all that tradition attributes to him, but upon his having made an important initiative.

Those sacred writings which are with most confidence attributed to the Judaic period are the greater number of the songs of the Psalter. At any rate the Psalter is regarded Witness of the Psalter. as of post-exilic compilation. In it, therefore, should be seen the true spirit of these scribes and priests. Though the psalms advance no novel ideas as compared with the earlier prophets, they rise to a high level of spiritualism. Praising the temple and its ritual, they by no means indicate a slavish dependence upon it. They find in the law the soundest moral principles, and, with some exceptions, are noted for their humanness. They strike out of the heart of Judaism, so often blamed for its narrowness, the note of cosmopolitanism. The compilers of the Psalter can have been no mean sort of men.¹

One of the complaints against Judaism is because of the emphasis which it lays upon the idea of sin. It is charged with having de- Judaism and sin. parted in this respect from the old Hebraism. This accusation cannot be made by those who have measured the real depth of the spirit of Hebraism. It is like the shallow criticism of those who think that the dancing of the Merrymounters gave better promise for the future of New England than the psalm-singing of the intolerant Puritans.² It was because the spirit of Hebraism was profound enough to work out in time a serious

¹ Bruce, *Apologetics*, pp. 272 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 268.

sense of sinfulness that it was so specifically different from the spirits of other semi-civilizations. These could go on in the enjoyment of animal spirits, and without remorse permit corruption to grow until ruin was inevitable. Renan, though himself of the lightest Hellenic temperament, and wanting in enough depth or seriousness to comprehend the Hebrew, was able to see something of it, when he said, "Greece had only one thing wanting in the circle of her moral and intellectual activity; but this was an important void; she despised the humble and did not feel the need of a just God. Her philosophers, while dreaming of the immortality of the soul, were tolerant toward the iniquities of this world. Her religions were merely elegant municipal playthings."¹ It was a real step in advance, and one produced by the original spirit of Hebraism, when the system of worship was so adjusted as to emphasize and call out this sense of unworthiness. Many of the ceremonial specifications, those pertaining to uncleanness, for instance, seem trivial in detail. But they had their definite purpose in a studied antagonism to the impurities and licentiousness of the nearest paganisms. They were to be denounced, as Jesus denounced them, only when the spirit which had originally prompted them had entirely gone out of their observance.

One of the great achievements of scribism, and

¹ *History of the People of Israel*, vol. i., p. vii.

one which is to be directly attributed to the democratic Hebrew spirit, was the founding of the synagogues as centres of lay wor-<sup>The syna-
gogue.</sup>ship and education.¹ When the people were called together by Ezra to hear the reading and expounding of the sacred books,² he was obeying the same impulse as Moses when he gave to a horde of servile brickmakers the esoterics of learned Egypt. It was a recognition of popular claims for participation in religious knowledge and worship, which could not be answered by a single sanctuary with an exclusive priesthood. Hence the educational side of Judaism began to develop itself. The Jew soon found in the synagogue all that was wanting in the temple, and it spread everywhere. It was because of the peculiar adaptability and superiority of its spirit that Judaism could go into all the earth without losing hold of its traditions. There was simply nothing in the paganisms it met which could compete with it. In a subtle way the Dispersion itself was instigated by the spirit; and everywhere it carried with it that most democratic of institutions. Wherever a dozen Jews could be

¹ "One further germ of spiritual life may, probably, be traced to the epoch of Ezra. If, in the long unmarked period which follows, the worship of the Synagogue silently sprang up, . . . it must have originated in the independent, personal, universal study of the Law, irrespective of Temple or Priest, which Ezra had inaugurated." Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*, vol. iii., p. 134.

² Neh. viii. 1-8.

found, they formed a group and met for prayer and discussion of the sacred writings. While the temple remained the ideal centre, and loyalty to it the coördinating principle of the national life, the actual unit of the Jewish commonwealth was the synagogue. It fulfilled the functions of a church, a public school, and a town meeting all in one.

A great part of the work of the scribes consisted in multiplying copies of the Scriptures for the use of the synagogues. Hence the significance of scribism is not to be found altogether in the character of the men, but also in the nature and extent of the popular demand for their work. To seek material for the history of Judaism by studying the scribes, is much as if one were to write the history of to-day on a basis of a study of type-setting machines and cylindrical presses, rather than upon the nature of the writings they reproduce and the extent of the public demand for those writings. A Bible society may be managed by men of narrow or unworthy views. What we care for is the number of Bibles the public calls for. When we are told that the scribes applied petty rules and methods, and measured their Scripture by the number of ems, we need not be offended. We can praise them as excellent copyists. What interests us is that the Jewish people furnished employment for so many copyists of such valuable matter. The result was that probably less than one Jew in a thousand was unfamiliar

Demand for
the Scrip-
tures.

with the best parts of the literature into which the ancient Hebrew, Mosaic, prophetic spirit had poured itself in overflowing measure.¹ The importance of this fact is beyond estimate. In the neighborhood of the schools, where the greater scribes were able to be not only copyists but expounders, the Scripture was smothered under an *aber glaupe*. But this could not be universal. Only a giant can effectually choke off the spiritual energy of this mighty literature. Away from the capital it had measurably free play. There must have been myriads to whom it was vital. Given these generations of a free people,—for the Hebrew spirit always refused slavery and held to some of the chief elements of liberty; let that people be educated into familiarity with the most remarkable and spiritually intense literature the world has known, and then call it an age of sterility and failure, because forsooth the official classes have failed, as they universally do, to keep pace with the people! He who so judges is lacking in the historic sense.

It is true that the external history of the period,

¹ "Thus the synagogue was a true school for the nation, and Josephus boasts with justice that by its means the law was made the common possession of all; and that while among the Romans even procurators and proconsuls had to take those skilled in law with them into their provinces, in the Jewish household every servant-maid knew from the religious service what Moses had ordained in the law in every instance." Hausrath, *New Testament Times*, vol. i., p. 89.

from Malachi to the Baptist, is at first appearance disappointing. It has been called "the night of legalism." But vital spiritual forces also work in the night under cover of darkness, as well sometimes as in the day. Yet the external history is not wholly without the spirit's presence. Developments of and additions to Hebrew doctrines, — by borrowing for instance from the Persians, — must be admitted. The Hebrew spirit was never above taking spoils from its enemies or its allies, if they had anything worth taking. The idea of a world empire may have originated with David, but was more probably borrowed from the Assyrians, and then regenerated and spiritualized. The ideas of Satan, of angels and demons, and of a future life, may have come from Persia. If so they were much improved upon. The Jewish Satan, great but not equal to Jehovah, is a nobler and truer mode of conception of the power of evil than the Persian Ahriman, the co-eternal and coequal antagonist of Ormuzd. If the Hebrew spirit borrowed, it transmuted also.

As to the idea of a future life, that was never unknown to, but was only ignored by the Hebrew mind. The ignoring of it, however, served only a temporary purpose. If the belief in immortality be legitimate it must some day be reckoned with. By the time it had reached the Judaic period the Hebrew experience had been sufficiently prolonged, so that the true spirit of it,

The spirit
and legal-
ism.

Doctrine of
future life.

which had bidden it stand aloof at first from doctrines of the unseen, now withdrew that prohibition. The time comes when the moral advantage is no longer with those who live regardless of the thought of immortality. The party in later Judaism which denied angels and spirits and the future life was morally the inferior party. Those who affirmed, though they borrowed perhaps the forms of their affirmation from the Greeks,¹ were morally the better exponents of the spirit of the same ancient Hebraism which had ignored immortality.

A noteworthy illustration of the ability of the Hebrew spirit to hold its own in the face of other strong spiritual potencies is seen in its conflict, on the whole triumphant, with "Hellenism, the spirit of the Greek race."² The Greek material civilization, like the Persian and the Babylonian before it, could conquer the Hebrew. But when Alexander, having completed his conquests, halted and "revolved in his mind the great work of breathing into this huge but inert body the living spirit of Greek civilization," tradition says that he recognized in Rome and in Judea spiritual peers of Greece. At any rate the Macedonian power did not overcome the Palestinian in the spiritual realm. In Alexandria indeed the contest was doubtful, and may perhaps be called a drawn battle. But in the

The Hebrew
and the
Hellenic
spirits.

¹ Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*, vol. iii., p. 294.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 207.

ancient seat the Hebrew was victorious. What of importance came to Judaism from Greece came as spoils. Even the language was captured for spiritual purposes. While the Septuagint translation, made in Alexandria, smoothed down some of the ancient anthropomorphisms, it did not succeed in making over the Hebrew Jehovah into the Greek Zeus. That translation made the Greek tongue the most effective agent for the extension of the Hebrew religion and morals and the universalizing of its spirit. Many Hebrews hellenized; more Greeks hebraized. Yet the rich treasures of Greek thought were not unappreciated by the Hebrew mind. They were worthy of the ancient Hebrew spirit, and in the genial recognition of their value that spirit became more fully aware of its own essential universalism.

The sectarianisms which arose and the fiercest wars which were fought during this period sprang from the determination of the Hebrew spirit not to yield to the foreign influence. The current fad of unity, regardless of all other interests, has caused us in this day to overlook the fact that the Pharisaic sect grew out of a strong progressive movement stimulated by the ancient spirit of Mosaism against a nominally conservative attitude, which had lost the spirit which alone had given value to the things which it sought to conserve, while actually yielding itself to new and foreign materialistic forces. The progressive was

Sectarian-
ism.

loyal to the ancient spirit, and hence sought for it new and adequate forms. The nominal conservative clung to the old forms because, being empty now of the ancient spirit, he could use them for his new purposes. It is a history often repeated. It is a thoughtless error to condemn indiscriminately the sects of later Judaism. Like most sects they were the products of life forces. Differentiation and integration are life processes, and scarcely any vital spiritual movement has ever been able to produce a new shoot, without differentiating itself, budding, becoming a cutting or sect.¹

The Maccabean struggle was an armed resistance to the conquest of Palestine by the Syrian type of Greek.² While the Maccabees themselves were for many of their best characteristics indebted to Greek influence, while the particular form even of their patriotism was not without its Hellenistic coloring,³ yet that for

The Maccabean war.

¹ "In this way the national spirit gave expression to the whole of its rich subjectivity in a vigorous, manifold, and sharply defined individuality, which, flowing through numerous schools and hundreds of synagogues, passed into the national life, and ultimately collected itself, out of this multitudinous seething diversity, into the higher and comprehensive unity." Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vol. i., p. 327. See also the rest of that most suggestive paragraph.

² "The danger lay in the absorption of Judaism, not into the higher spirit of Athens or Alexandria, but into that basest and most corrupt form of heathenism of which the very name 'Syria' or 'Syrian' was the byword." Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*, vol. iii., p. 289.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 292.

which they fought was the integrity and the continuity of the life which had been created and perpetuated hitherto by the ancient spirit of the race. In every essential particular Judaism held its own and prepared for its culmination.

III.

BEFORE proceeding to consider the final marshaling of all those spiritual forces which may be grasped together in the one conception of the Hebrew spirit, it will be necessary The Literature of the spirit. to go back and take account of that most remarkable product of the specific energies of Hebraism, its inspired literature. This is better treated separately, because it is so commonly regarded as the chief production, up to this point, of Hebrew history, and because, in an important sense, that opinion is an eminently just one. If language is a branch of sociology,¹ then is literature, which is the highest development of language, one of the highest products of the social activities. Whatever rises to the level of literature carries along with it into the history of the race the people who could give birth to it. On the other hand, no course of history has been able to endure and to continue to exercise an influence in the affairs of the race, which did not bring into existence a literature. Even a scrap or frag-

¹ "As human thought is developed only in and through society, religion (like language and ethics) may be regarded as a branch of sociology." Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, p. 1.

ment, if it be genuine literature, has a certain power not only to survive, but to reproduce somewhat the historical conditions under which it was itself produced. The adage about making the songs of a people and not caring who makes their laws, is a tribute to the reproductive power of literature. But what if the laws of a people can be put into their songs? Well equipped indeed is the nation whose laws have found literary expression.

A course of history which has contrived to secure some kind of literary embodiment for all of its primary elements, is fitted, if it Greek literature. can preserve these documents, to survive even its extermination. Greece did this. The Greek states had long been dead, and the Greek blood and character were utterly weakened; but its long buried classic literature was brought to light, and Greece began again to live. At first this was in lands of alien blood, where through the literature there are perhaps to-day more representatives of the Hellenic type of character than ever lived at any one time in ancient Greece. At length, too, Greece bids fair, still through the stimulus of its classics, to recover something of its old glory on ancient soil and among a people of ancient lineage. Nothing in the world but literature could have done this.

One of the efforts of science which has attracted less attention than it deserves is the attempt to

construct psychology by a study of language.¹ The nature of the mind is said to be best known by the philologist. Language ^{Literary psychology.} is treated as a species of brain or nerve matter, by the dissection and observation of which the character and growth of mind can be known. Now literature is this nerve matter in its larger ganglia and convolutions. Literature may be treated as the brain structure of history, of humanity as an organism distinguished from men as a multitude. The child which learns another language and is imbued with another literature from that of his parents, passes over into another historical group, — belongs to another civilization. It is not so unscientific to make ethnological classifications upon the basis of language, for it counts for more than blood. The child that learns no language is hardly human, as in the case of children who have become the foundlings of wolves. To learn language but no literature is to be barely human, to be a non-historical man. Literature is specifically higher than language. It stands for a higher type of corporate life. It is the chief agency through which the higher historical forces are transmitted with least refraction or deflection or diminution of energy.

It is therefore antecedently probable that along with such a course of history as the Hebrew will

¹ Noiré, *Der Ursprung der Sprache*. Max Müller, *Science of Thought*.

be developed a literature with corresponding specific marks. Not all historical movements have been prolific of enduring literatures. The purely selfish or materialistic civilizations have been barren in this respect. Egypt, with all her philosophy and applied science and elaborate religious system of sordid otherworldliness, has left hardly anything which can be called literature. Poetry was the first literature; the rhythmic quality, which is essential to any kind of specific energy, is in some way a character of all literature deserving of the name. It is a question whether war may not have been the first stimulus to poetry.¹ Mere fighting rises to the plane of war when comradeship, or the tribal or some other form of corporate interest, overpowers selfish interest, when society begins and men are animated by a common spirit. The commercial spirit seldom produces a literature. The commercial states of Phoenicia and Carthage, though they gave currency to the world's alphabet, left no literary records. The pathetic thing about Hannibal's splendid career is that it would have been forgotten but for the literature of a hostile people, whom he failed to conquer for the signifi-

¹ Montesquieu declares that "war takes simultaneous rise with society." "As soon as man enters into a state of society he loses the sense of his weakness; equality ceases, and then commences the state of war." *Spirit of Laws*, Book I., cap. iii. Montesquieu imagines that the change was from peace to war. It is more probable that it was from a meaner to a nobler form of conflict.

cant reason that his own people were so under the sway of mercantilism as to be unable to see beyond their ledger accounts, and hated men who, like the son of Hamilcar, had any width of horizon. The mercantile civilizations have sometimes smoothed the paths of literature; they have not stimulated its growth.

Literature belongs to the large, the free, the humane. The Hebrew history was on the whole the largest, freest, purest, lustiest history yet lived. It contained nothing morbid, Literature and Hebrew life. weak, or hollow. Its faults were those of an excess of vigor. That law which requires the living being, without dissipating its strength or losing its individualism, to adapt itself to the largest and most diversified environment, and to carry on within itself the most varied functions, is remarkably exemplified in the course of this history. The balance between intensity of internal action and extensiveness of relationships is well maintained, or, if lost, is speedily recovered. The power to assimilate the best and to reject the worst in the environment is well exercised. The upward and downward, the forward and backward, the inward and outward reaches of these life forces are unexampled. Its moral code, while fitted for universal legislation, is perfectly adapted to time and circumstances.¹ Its balance of the

¹ "These first men (the patriarchs), without ever having been followers or pupils of any one, and without ever having been

individual, the family, the tribal, the national, the cosmopolitan, and the cosmic interests, vindicates itself in the outcome. It would be strange if such a history did not find or make for itself a corresponding literature. It did create such a literature; and the same spirit which is found in the history has richly imbued the literature.

The more the Hebrew national literature is studied by the best methods, the more clearly is it perceived that the Hebrew spirit had almost everything to do with its production and preservation. That spirit was an essential factor in providing both the material and the stimuli for the exercise of the literary faculty. The words and phraseology of daily life had been coined under its guidance. As a consequence, words of moral import were more numerous and more forceful than in the cognate tongues.¹ The ideas of duty were more natural and less fictitious. Expressions for hope or enterprise were more numerous, and had a wider connotation. Empty

The spirit
the agent.

taught by preceptors what they ought to do or say, but having embraced a line of conduct consistent with nature, from attending to their own natural impulses and from being prompted by an innate virtue, and looking upon nature herself to be, what in fact she is, the most ancient and duly established of laws, did in reality spend their whole lives in making laws." Philo.

¹ See a series of articles entitled *The Natural Basis of our Spiritual Language*, by Dr. Wm. M. Thompson, author of *The Land and the Book*, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vols. xxix-xxxiv. See also Murray, *Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, especially on the Korahite songs, pp. 193 f.

terms of magic or metaphysics, on the other hand, were fewer; for witchcraft and the black arts were taboo, and wholesome realism was the ruling tendency.¹ The word "spirit," for instance, though crude enough in its meaning, erred on the side of realism rather than on that of its mere negation, like the current conception of spirit among us. As it grew richer and more refined, it retained instead of abstracting from the realism of its original sense of "wind" or "breath," until it came to have much the signification we have been seeking to give to it, — "a specific force."² Living as these people did a genuine and unusually well proportioned life, they had a vocabulary well balanced between realism and idealism, conservatism and radicalism, the sweetness of altruism and the vigor of egoism. Strength and beauty were in the sanctuary of their language.

Writers have dwelt upon the "providential "

¹ "A sort of deism without metaphysics was what the fathers of Judaism and Islamism inaugurated at that early period, with a very sure and unerring instinct." Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, vol. i., p. 49.

² Piepenbring, *Theology of the Old Testament*, pp. 98, 156 f. "It is a plain truth of historical criticism that the conception corresponding to the word *πνευμα* in Biblical usage, like that corresponding to the word *vous* in classic Greek, was developed from the physical and sensuous side. . . . And when the elements of freedom and boundlessness and spirituality came to be added to those of activity and power, the resulting conception of the divine spirit is that of a free and boundless spiritual energy." Ladd, *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*, vol. ii., p. 357.

influence upon the Hebrew tongue of their rugged and not over fertile hill country.¹ As we saw before, this was a spiritual rather than a "providential" influence, since it was the Hebrew spirit which led to the choice of that country. When the Syrians said that the God of the Israelites was "a God of the hills," they had hold of a fact which had not come about by accident. The spiritual instinct had sought those hills. The literature likewise has been profoundly affected, in many ways, by the love of Israel for the holy city Jerusalem. "They shall prosper that love thee," they sang with good reason; for Palestine worship and Jerusalem worship had sprung from the promptings of the Hebrew spirit, and had more than once preserved the national existence. This fact was the source of many of the idioms and much of the literature of the Hebrew tongue.

Every people has many current aphorisms, which invariably have their part to play in literature, and may be collected into a literature by themselves. Undoubtedly a good part of Shakespeare's wisdom is borrowed from or suggested by the proverbs which circulated among the people of his day. These aphorisms have the ring of the average social tone. One can guess at the tone of a community by the character of the sayings which are taken seriously. A spirit

The country
and the lit-
erature.

Proverbial
literature.

¹ See note 1, p. 78.

largely prevalent in America is indicated by the currency of such proverbs as "Nothing succeeds like success," or "Money talks." The proverbs current in Israel show the high average of thought and morals of the Hebrew spirit, and not a few of them its secret prophetic messianic instinct.

Besides coining words or idioms, and giving currency to aphorisms, the Hebrew spirit seems to have had a dominating influence in determining the character of the tradi- Traditional legends. tional narratives or heroic tales, which probably went long in oral form before they were reduced to writing. It is difficult or impossible at this distance to decide how far the literary form of these traditions is to be attributed to the people as a whole, and how far to the individual authors or redactors. It will be unnecessary, for our purpose, even to guess. But it will be worth while to note how specifically different are the literary results secured in the Hebrew editions of certain traditions as contrasted with those obtained elsewhere. It is "in the handling of the tradition," as Horton says,¹ that the difference appears. This is made striking if they are placed in parallel columns like this : —

<p>"At that time the heaven above had not announced, or the earth beneath recorded a name; the unopened deep</p>	<p>"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was waste and void ; and dark-</p>
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

¹ *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 43.

was their generator, Mummu Tiamat (the chaos of the sea) was the mother of them all. Their waters were embosomed as one, and the cornfield was unharvested, the pasture was ungrown. At that time the gods had not appeared, any of them, by no name were they recorded, no destiny (had they fixed). Then the (great) gods were created.

"Lakhmu and Lakhamu issued forth (the first), until they grew up (when) An-sar and Ki-sar were created. Long were the days, extended (was the time, and) the gods Anu (Bel and Ea were born). An-sar and Ki-sar gave them birth."¹

"Anu illuminated the Moon-god that he might watch over the night, and ordained him for the ending of the night that the day may be known (saying), Month by month, without break, keep watch in thy disk; At

ness was upon the face of the deep: and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness.

"These are the generations of the heaven and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made earth and heaven.

"And no plant of the field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had yet sprung up: for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground."²

"And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years: and let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to

¹ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, pp. 384, 385.

² Gen. i. 1-4, ii. 4-6.

the beginning of the month kindle the night, announcing (thy) horns that the heaven may know. On the seventh day, (filling thy) disk, thou shalt open indeed (its) narrow contraction."¹

give light upon the earth : and it was so. And God made the two great lights ; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night : he made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth."²

Without asking when either of these narratives received its present form, or which is the older, or whether either depends upon the other, it is clear that they both deal with the same raw material of legend. It matters not to us whether one corrupted or the other corrected this material, or whether both of these things happened. We cannot fail to observe the difference between them, and the distinctively literary as well as Hebrew tone of the Biblical account. No translation seems to be able to put a spark of poetry into the Babylonian version. It is prosy. No exegesis can get any spark of true philosophy out of it. It is mere mythology. On the other hand, no rabbinical gloss can quite hide the poetry and philosophy in the Hebrew version.³

¹ Sayce, p. 389.

² Gen. i. 14-17.

³ Because of this difference the Hebrew story has been able not only to survive, but to hold a place as a force in history which the other never could. Its advocates may throw down the gauntlet on its behalf as Origen did on behalf of the Scripture compared with the Greek poets : " And challenging a comparison of

It manifests the Hebrew sanity and spirituality of conception. It speaks of but one God, and he was not begotten by nature, but was in the beginning and created it. He so created it too that it needed no demi-gods to keep it going. As little did it need his interference. Nature was an automatism. The sun, moon, and stars were not persons but things, and ruled day and night and the seasons like clockwork. The animals and the plants also reproduced automatically after their kind. Man had a universe of law to live in, with only one

Doctrine of
God and of
the world.

book with book, say, come now, good sir, and take down the poems of Linus and of Musaeus and of Orpheus and the writings of Pherecydes, and carefully compare these with the laws of Moses, — historians with historians, and ethical discourses with laws and commandments, — and see which of the two are better fitted to change the character of the hearer on the very spot, and which to harden him in his wickedness; and observe that your writers display little concern for those readers who are to peruse them at once unaided, but have composed their philosophy for those who are able to comprehend its metaphorical and allegorical signification; whereas Moses, like a distinguished orator who undertakes some figure of rhetoric, and who carefully introduces into every part language of twofold meaning, has done this in his five books; neither affording in the portion which relates to morals any handle to his Jewish subjects for committing evil; nor yet giving to the few individuals who were endowed with greater wisdom and who were capable of investigating his meaning a treatise devoid of material for speculation." We know in behalf of what erroneous doctrine Origen said these things. Yet the error of Origen grew out of the dim perception of the outlines of a great fact whose very existence most of his contemporaries failed to discern.

God to deal with, and that a God who was not forever capriciously intermeddling. "Law is king of all things." This God rules the impersonal universe by mechanism, and meets man more directly as God in the plane of personal, that is spiritual, intercourse alone; man is the only demigod, the only lord of creation, under the one supreme and transcendent God. He is to subdue nature through his likeness to God, in knowing and conforming to her mechanical modes of procedure. The search for the agreement between Genesis and physical science has usually gone off on the wrong scent. That agreement is more fundamental than is often guessed at. Genesis gives a solid basis for physical science by inventing a conception of an automatic material order, a nature governed by law. It invents this, however, not because it cares anything for science as such, but because its spirit instinctively shuns the fantastic, the unreal, the morbid. The same spirit which had put the thought of the future life aside, and banished witchcraft and necromancy, cleaned out of the legend of creation the whole brood of mythological abominations which stood in the way of a wholesome relationship between man and the natural order.¹

¹ "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth' was like the cold mistral which cleared the sky, like the sweep of the broom which relegated from beyond our horizon the chimeras which darkened it. A free will, as implied in the words,

The apparent exception to this is where the presence of evil is accounted for, in the Jehovistic document, by the retention of the legend of the serpent as a kind of jinn.¹ In the same document is also what some think a vestige of a parallel effort to account for the presence of evil by the intermarriage of the daughters of men with demigods.² One of the explanations offered is that this document is of great age, and that the Hebrew spirit had not yet gained enough ascendancy to be able to refine away all mythology. Yet the survival of the legend is not so discreditable to the spirit of the writer or editor. He was here confronting the one insoluble problem of the ages, the one thing in this world that seems to be absolutely lawless, the presence of sin. Whether he borrowed the idea from the followers of Zoroaster, or discovered it himself, or carried it over from primitive traditions, here was the one sole obstacle to the coördination of the whole known universe under the rule of law. To ignore this enigma would have been unworthy of the

‘He created,’ substituted for ten thousand capricious fancies, is a progress of its kind. The great truth of the unity of the world and of the absolute solidarity of all its parts, which polytheism failed to appreciate, is at least clearly perceived in these narratives.” Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, vol. i., p. 67. “The Yahvist, or whatever else you may call this author, spoke and wrote under the instruction of a Holy Spirit of truth, and told the world what the world but for such teaching might not recognize even now.” Horton, *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 40.

¹ Gen. iii.

² *Ibid.* vi. 1-4.

moral seriousness and depth of the Hebrew spirit. To have solved it as the Persian did by two equal gods would have been to go back upon the splendid Hebrew optimism. But here it was. Now the mythological creatures stood for lawlessness, caprice. He banished all of them but one. That one he employed as a temporary expedient in order to account for the introduction of lawlessness into the human heart. Then he immediately degraded it to the position of a mere uncanny brute, reducing superstition concerning it to a minimum, and chanting over that a song of triumph.¹ The ingenuity with which the subject is dealt with is admirable, and fully congruous with the Hebrew spirit. The realm of lawlessness in nature is reduced to the smallest possible area, with the promise of extinction, while the truth is emphasized that man is the real marplot, and hence that upon him rests the responsibility for undoing the wrong. Thus full force is given to moral obligation by locating evil henceforth in the moral sphere, and laying stress upon moral freedom. Man is the only lawbreaker who needs to be taken into consideration. Here also is the basis for optimism, since evil is no longer a thing of physical necessity. Man can abolish it.²

¹ *Ibid.* iii. 15.

² "The earliest patriarchs of the human race appear as simple men. They are endowed with no divine qualities. Between the God of Israel and the founders of human society, the division, according to the Hebrew narrative, is complete. This, of course,

It is not a part of our purpose to cover in detail the Hebrew literature, showing how it has been dominated by the Hebrew spirit. It is enough to hint at it. Other hints are found sometimes in the most unlikely places. Genealogies are dry reading, and those in the Book of the Genesis possess no authority to the ethnologist. But they are richly inspired in the sense that they were dictated by the Hebrew spirit, which was not content without affirming the unity of the race.¹ It was not the scientific apprehension of the law of parsimony that gave birth to these genealogies, but the dawning of that sense of brotherhood which was to flood the world one day with new light. When we realize the motive for seeking not to omit any peoples from

may have been the characteristic of the Hebrew tradition from the first. But it appears more reasonable to ascribe the exceeding purity and simplicity of the narrative to the prophetic writer, who, writing in the spirit and power of Jehovah, has moulded the traditions of his race into perfect harmony with the religious truths of which he was the inspired exponent." Ryle, *Early Narratives of Genesis*, pp. 66, 67.

¹ "Wearisome as the list of names will seem, it is the more necessary for us to recognize its place and its true religious significance in the Hebrew scriptures. It reminded the Israelites that God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and that the heathen, who knew not Jehovah, were nevertheless brethren of Israel. It reminded him that his own nation was only one among the nations of the earth, by origin and descent in no way separated from them, but only, by the grace of God, selected and chosen, to be the bearer of His revelation to the world." *Ibid.*, p. 123.

that table, the whole list begins to glow with something like a spiritual warmth. Long catalogues of names, like those in Ezra and Nehemiah, need only to be read sympathetically in order to discern the spirit of nation-making and nation-saving in the minds of those who recorded them. As the blind bard of Greece rolled from his lips the names of the ships that went to the war against Troy, his listeners doubtless felt that without it the great epic would be incomplete as the bible of the Hellenic national life. Thus the members of a body of literature which seem to be more feeble spiritually, are necessary; and those members which we think to be less honorable, upon them, after we have used spiritual discernment, we bestow more abundant honor.

The way in which the spirit influenced the writers varied indefinitely, according to the age and class to which they belonged, and their personal circumstances and idiosyncrasies. In earlier days, guilds or schools of prophets existed, allied to similar circles in heathendom. They engaged in divination, and went about in companies, speaking under ecstatic or trance conditions. These experiences were more or less contagious; so that a person sensitively constituted, like Saul, with a strong nature not well disciplined, tainted with epilepsy or touched with superstition, was easily caught by the enthusiasm.¹ In spite of the extravagances and the

Prophetic
guilds.

¹ 1 Sam. x. 9-13.

morbid character of many of their performances, these guilds contained members of delicate and peculiar susceptibility, upon the choicest of whom the normal Hebrew spirit could work with much force; and, since speaking was part of their trade, it could produce through them literary expressions of itself. The medium naturally speaks the sentiments and uses the stock notions and phrases of his sect, and more faithfully in his trance than at other times. It is one of the peculiarities of trance speaking never to originate a new idea. But if new ideas from outside his sect begin to stir profoundly any member of it, he is still likely to seek to give expression to these ideas in trance, and to strain the inadequate set phrases, until the new wine bursts the old bottles, and he breaks away altogether from his sect. Then, though he may cease to submit to trance conditions, many of their characteristics still cling to him.

It is not difficult to trace in the Hebrew literature the gradual conquest or superseding of the prophetic guilds by the growing power of this healthful social force. As its ethical nature gained more control, the trance gave way to moral exaltation; and since communistic prophecy put certain hindrances in the way of a progressive spirit, which needed the freedom of individualism for its best expression, the prophets of power threw off allegiance to the schools,¹ which thus lost footing, declined and

Their conquest by the spirit.

¹ Amos vii. 14.

became extinct. They left their traces, however, upon literary style, and it is not always clear how far the writers of certain books employed their methods of expression in free allegory, or how far they were actually under conditions more or less trancelike. It is clear, however, that but for the conquest of these guilds by the distinctively Hebrew spirit, none of the apparently trance prophecies which have come down to us would have been preserved or have deserved preservation. "The Jewish prophets," said Origen, "instead of being made beside themselves, and frenzied and darkened when they prophesied, became more mentally lucid, and their souls were filled with a clearer light." It was this spirit which led to the use of writing by the prophets. Their specifically Hebrew faith and patience taught them to lift their voices for future generations, when their own would not hearken. "And the Lord answered me," said Habakkuk,¹ "and said, Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it. For the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak."

In general the Hebrew writers were under no other kind of excitement than that which normally accompanies vigorous composition, and the spirit of their writings reflected the ordinary spirit of the men themselves. "We see,"

Pen-point
inspiration.

¹ Hab. ii. 2, 3.

to quote Origen again, "that the noble, earnest, and devout lives of these men were worthy of the inspiration of the Divine Spirit." When they expressed more than had come to clear consciousness in their own minds, they did it as any one may who writes out of a rich and genuine experience. Occasionally there is in them what might be called a pen-point inspiration. A writer, hurried on by an occasion, throws himself into the current of a language whose genius leads in the direction of his own thought, and is carried beyond himself. The mutually supplementary spiritual tensions of the writer, the language and the occasion, issue, under the strain of composition, in a writing possessing in an exceptional degree the spiritual character. Since the genius of the Hebrew dialect had been profoundly affected from the earliest times by the Hebrew spirit, since the crises which produced these writings had also been brought about largely by the same spirit, and since the writers were especially affected thereby, this phenomenon was likely to be of no uncommon occurrence.

It is possible, and it would accord with certain tenaciously held opinions on the subject of inspiration, that the first distinctively spiritual phenomenon may have appeared as the result of some such favorable conjunction of causes as above mentioned. It is possible that to Moses, or whoever it was who first set going in history the specifically Hebrew spirit as a force,

Earliest
manifesta-
tion.

that spirit may have come in the form of some bit of poetry, inspired folk-lore, surcharged with the spirit, which carried over from prehistoric life the saving force for the modern. The spontaneous generation of specific spirits, without the interposition of spiritual causes, is not likely to happen frequently. Nature is sparing of spontaneous production of special effects where special causes are at all within reach. If the conditions are halfway favorable to the spontaneous production of these effects, they are so wholly favorable to the action of existing causes that the probabilities are overwhelming that these existing causes will find them out and anticipate spontaneity. The first specific appearance of the Hebrew spirit must have occurred at some time, and there is at least some antecedent probability that it appeared in the form of pen-point or tongue-point inspiration. Its beginning is certainly lost in the twilight of the ages. Some of the literary constituents of the book of Genesis are apparently of prehistoric antiquity. Their inspiration may have been equally ancient, and they may have started the fires that kindled the inspirational glow of history.

It is according to psychology and actual history that the specific spiritual forces of civilization should operate in the form of literature. Literature in civilization. Whether at the very start the history produced the literature, or the literature the history, would be hard to determine, — whether the mar-

tial spirit brought forth the war song, or the song lifted mere fighting into war. But in the course of centuries the literature is as much a cause as an effect. The forces of history find their embodiments and channels in literature. The writing of history has become a new science by the application of the literary sense to the pursuit of its data. Even professedly historical writings are treated no longer as history, but as literature out of which true historical data are to be smelted by the fires of literary criticism,¹ by which means the results secured are much richer. The reason for this lies in the fact that literature possesses an elective affinity by which it lays hold of what is most characteristic of its age. "I would give," says M. Taine, "fifty volumes of charters and a hundred volumes of state papers for the Memoirs of Cellini, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Table Talk of Luther, or the Comedies of Aristophanes." The importance of literature, he says further, is that, if it preserves documents, it preserves them not indiscriminately, but as monuments; in other words, their value is not in what they say, but in that which lies behind what they say.

But the value of literature in the rewriting of history is of minor account compared with its value as a re-creator of history. "The most potent and lasting influence in the civilization of generations is literature." History has

Literature
a force.

¹ Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma*.

been more than rewritten within the century. In many parts of the world it has been reënacted. The lost threads of national and race continuities have been picked up, and seemingly dead nations have been resurrected, either by the renewal of the study of their ancient literatures or by the creation of new ones; or more often the study of early literatures has imparted a new literary impulse, and through it has revived the national spirit. There is no more striking phenomenon in our day than the awakening or reawakening of national or race consciousnesses. They represent powers that are almost irresistible. No one cause has contributed more to produce these awakenings than literature. They are the later and more soundly ripened fruit of the revival of learning, as the French Revolution, with its travesty on brotherhood, was the premature and imperfect fruit.

What Comte called "the spiritual reorganization of modern society" is largely traceable to the influence of literature. It is the mirror in which nations most commonly learn first to recognize their own features. It is the memory in which this knowledge is sometimes covered out of sight for centuries, waiting a favorable opportunity to come back again to consciousness and activity. No other storehouse can preserve spiritual forces fresh while unused. Institutions change or let down their tone with that of the series of generations which must

Literature
and the
spiritualiza-
tion of
society.

maintain and perpetuate them. Customs become shams, and can be reformed only by destroying them. Creeds become shackles. Codes and constitutions clog the wheels of progress when conditions change, and often have to be gotten rid of by revolution. Blood does not insure the transmission of civilization. But literature possesses peculiar qualities of living persistency and power. It is the better and more incorruptible after it has become stereotyped. If it be true literature, it is then crowned as classic. It cannot be dragged down by the degradation of a people, but remains to reproach and call them to repentance. It neither rusts from neglect, nor wears out in use. It may be long buried in forgotten alcoves, or dead tongues, or deader traditional glosses, and yet it will come out as good as new. For this reason it is difficult to exaggerate the power of literature as a working factor in the making of history; in originating, conserving, and renewing institutions and customs; in giving cumulative force to progressive tendencies toward righteousness, truth, or beauty; in moulding and regenerating individual character; in perpetuating undiminished the power of individual influence; in performing the office of an almost plenipotentiary agent for spiritual forces.

It is probable that during the whole course of Hebrew history there were literary elements operating as causes, helping to conserve the best fruits of the spirit or to perpetuate

Literary fac-
tor ancient.

them in kind. The habit of quoting, which appears early, gives intimation of this. The fragment concerning the "mountain of the Lord's house," preserved by Isaiah and Micah,¹ is an illustration. So is the fact that at least two independent versions of the story of the creation and the flood were extant, both with the spirit's stamp upon them. The Decalogue, though probably originally a document, was preserved, not as a mere document, but in a literary setting, and thus with the peculiar energy of position which belongs to literature. These are hints that literary coadjutors were not wanting to the other agencies of the Hebrew spirit during any considerable part of the long course of history before the reorganization under Ezra.

As a genius, seizing the opportunity which the Hebrew spirit and the occasion presented, Ezra holds a first rank, even though he may have done but a small part of that which tradition assigns to him. Such a crisis was upon the Hebrew people that there was no safe refuge for the national life and hope, for the spirit, except in a classic literature. This refuge Ezra and his companions and successors set to work to prepare. The greatest event since the Exodus was the beginning of a collection of sacred writings, and of the formation of the first framework of a canon. It was the one most essential thing. Had everything else been done and this omitted, failure

¹ Isa. ii. 2 f.; Mic. iv. 1 f.

would have been certain. Had this been done and everything else omitted, success might still have been possible.

In the final shape which this body of literature took, and the choice of what should and should not enter the canon, we are able to discern the Hebrew spirit exercising its most specific energies. In the attempt to make a single narrative out of the several creation documents, its presence is unmistakable. It writes with a purpose, an educational aim. As Macaulay's "History of England" was a political campaign document, and has had a good deal to do not only with bringing England up to Macaulay's idea of what it should be, but with carrying it farther than he would have wished, so the Hebrew writings were collected and edited, and parts of them written or rewritten, as campaign literature for use in the final and successful struggle for the ascendancy of the Hebrew spirit in the world's affairs. Ezra's school of scribes was the first campaign literary bureau, and their successors were true to their methods. This literature was designed by its publishers not only to foretell the messianic era, but to bring it in. Its conservatism always had an eye out for the future. What it was conserving, though the individual writer did not always know it, was the progressive tendency. It represents Abraham as looking forward not only to its day, but to a day beyond it.

The spirit
and the
canon.

It was the Hebrew spirit which wove the net of circumstances and sentiments and motives of various kinds, whose meshes caught and held the books which were fitted to become integral parts of a literature with the Hebrew aim, and let the rest fall through. The men who were consciously engaged in fixing the canon, if any such men ever existed,¹ were but the secretaries of the spiritual powers of their age; and while they obeyed, they did not understand the larger influences which swayed them. They chose the books which spiritual causes, operating directly or indirectly, had already fixed upon; and they gave such reasons for their choice as they were able to devise. As a consequence, there is no book in the canon which cannot be shown to have some place in a vital literary organism, whose life is the Hebrew spirit itself.

The canonicity of the book of Esther is a case in point. It is an anonymous book of unknown date, of no historical authority, with a low tone of morality and no religion; and for this reason its canonicity has been in dispute. Yet it has not been dislodged, for the reason that it has a real and close relationship to

¹ That such a body as the Great Synagogue of tradition ever existed is of course no longer believed. Yet the error in the tradition was due chiefly to a lack of imagination and perspective. A spiritual selective power did begin to act with Ezra, and continue to exercise for centuries functions analogous to those attributed to the Great Synagogue.

the work which that literature had to do at that time. Whether it is based upon a real event or is a pure romance, it is the literary embodiment of that peculiar form of national self-assertion which was characteristic of the Jews, and which rose to the emergency when it met the rich and brilliant and aggressive Persian civilization, and, gathering about it the mantle of national pride and self-sufficiency, came out of its tribulations with a more perfectly developed and indestructible national selfhood than it possessed when it went in. The national spirit of the Jew was not without serious blemish, as the story of Esther betrays. But that he continued a nation at all, and was able to thrive on adversity and to grow stronger in the presence of his conquerors, is due to the fact that the old Hebrew spirit had something to do with it. Take away from Jewish history what it owes to its triumphant encounter with Persia, and you have so far impaired it that it is a question whether it can live on to its culmination. And take away from Jewish literature the book of Esther, and with it the institution called the feast of Purim, for which it undertakes to account, and it is doubtful whether the memory of that contest with Persia would have been invigorating rather than debilitating. The Jewish attitude toward Persia and what Persia represented was an imperfect one, as the Jewish divorce laws were imperfect; but that both were not worse, and

that they opened the way to something better, was owing to the corrective power of the Hebrew spirit; and the same spirit kept Esther in the canon during the time when the Hebrew literature was doing its most distinctive work.¹

As one of the partial and narrower forms of the Hebrew spirit is seen in the imperfect book of Esther, another widely different form is seen in the very different yet still Job. imperfect book of Job. If the author of Job was a Hebrew, he concealed the outward marks of it with great success. The scenes and the characters are not Hebrew; the name for the Supreme Being is not the Hebrew national name, and references to Hebrew history are so wholly excluded that it was once supposed to have been written before that history began. As Esther belongs to the canon because of its specific concrete and narrow Jewish history, Job is there for the opposite reason of its broad and universalistic ideas. But that also belonged of right to the Hebrew and Jewish spirit. The Jew was both intensely national and broadly cosmopolitan. He must work out his destiny through a narrow intensity, to the service of which even the cruel and vindictive temper of Esther was not wholly amiss. He must also be overshadowed and overruled by a large and strong or sweet and generous

¹ Driver, *Introduction to Literature of Old Testament*, pp. 449-457.

universalism such as breathes in Job or Jonah. The genuine Hebrew spirit was not an exclusively religious or philosophical spirit. It was a spirit of life, to which nothing real, nothing ideal, nothing human or natural is foreign, or is to be called common or unclean; and so while it chose Job for its idealism, it chose Esther and Ruth for their realism.

Thus the national spirit held on to Esther, and the cosmopolitan to Job. The domestic spirit was also Hebrew, and was elevating and ennobling and sanctifying those tender and fundamental relationships which lie at the basis of the family; lifting them out of the hardness and lust of the old civilizations, guarding them from hollowness on the one hand, and licentiousness on the other, and false asceticism on still another, and bringing into actual existence the ideal Jewish family. This spirit overruled all mistaken objections, and preserved the tender and wholly non-religious idyl known as the "Song of Songs."¹

Such illustrations of the operation of the spirit in fixing what literature shall be ranked as sacred are drawn from the doubtful cases, because in these cases the spirit, acting as

The Cantic-
cles.

Spiritual
judgment.

¹ "A people who loved such songs celebrating an invincible love, —passionate, indeed, to the last degree, but perfectly innocent, —such a people cannot have been a prey to moral corruption." "However much there was to blame in the people, it was sound at heart, nor could any trace be found of fatal inward corruption." *Bible for Learners*, vol. ii., p. 236.

it were with an effort, can be more readily observed. The books that are unquestionably in the canon are unquestionably saturated by the Hebrew spirit, while those that are clearly outside of it are visibly wanting in the spirit. Of the so-called "wisdom literature," some found place in the canon and some did not, and a merely cursory examination makes it evident that what did so find place was that in which the alien elements were most thoroughly dominated by the Hebrew spirit. The late apocalyptic writings were for the most part unworthy of that spirit, and were rejected. Some, like the book of Daniel, rose above the rest in this respect, and were admitted. In making up this canon, there was a continuous spiritual transaction somewhat like a literary day of judgment. Many books stood outside and said, "Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name related many marvelous things?" And the Hebrew spirit answered and said, "Depart from me, I never knew you. Ye are alien to my spirit," while it admitted into the sacred number several wonderfully human ones which are quite non-religious and do not contain the name of God.

A more important observation concerning the sacred writings of the Hebrew spirit is that on the whole not only do they show the effects of the action of that spirit, but ^{The Logos.} they have had imparted to them a spiritual energy, so that they constitute a body of highly dynamical

literature.¹ The spirit which produced and selected them — acting as a religious, a national, an ethical, a philosophical, a heroic, a social, a family, and finally as a literary and critical spirit — not only produced and selected them, but entered into and possessed and acted through them, making them its most effective agents for the mastery of the future. The Scripture, therefore, embodied the Hebrew mind, was the Hebrew nerve structure, its word, or Logos.² The Hebrew spirit and the Hebrew Scripture henceforth wrought together, “the Spirit and the Word,” as the chief creative factors in the later Jewish history.

We may now observe how the Hebrew spirit marshaled all its forces for its final effort. This great muster could not have been observed in its true proportions had we not spent enough time in considering the origin and character of the Hebrew Scriptures to make clear how great a share of these forces were supplied with literary equipment. The institution or restoration of the religious festivities at the capital,

The final
muster.

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 15.

² “There is one word which I should like to see reintroduced into our philosophical phraseology, and that is ‘Logos.’ It meant originally *gathering and combining*, and so became the proper name for all that we call reason. But it has the immense advantage of also meaning *language*, and thus telling us that the process of gathering which begins with sensation, and passes on to perception and conception, reaches its full perfection only when it has become incarnate in the Logos, or Word.” Max Müller, *Science of Thought*, vol. i., p. 74.

which, as before seen, was the work of the spirit, served to maintain the corporate unity of a nation scattered to the four corners of the earth. The development of the synagogue and the revival of the Sabbath gave the opportunity to make the sacred literature the possession of the whole people. This literature came to be read and discussed in every considerable city of the world every week.¹ It is impossible to overestimate the importance of these institutions in their influence upon the Jewish people, and hence upon the world. There was a sure instinct, born of the Hebrew spirit, in the fanaticism with which the Sabbath was maintained ; for without that the Jews would certainly have been reduced to the slave level of an Asiatic subject race. It was because of their sabbatarianism that the thousands whom Pompey sold into slavery proved unprofitable and were permitted to purchase freedom. What the lash of the overseer could not do, neither could the knout of the tax-gatherer ; the Jew would keep his Sabbath. When the economic strain became unbearable, and the nominally free peasant was actually a slave, let out by the year to the publican who bid highest, the Jew alone kept his manhood, because he kept a seventh of his time sacred to his higher life, and spent it in the worship of the God most nobly conceived of any divinity ever worshiped by man, and in the study of that marvelous national literature.

¹ Acts xv. 21.

So it could come to pass that a nation without a political life, to a great extent even without the occupancy of a soil, kept its unity and vigor, and for several generations had been the only nation in the world wherein all classes were educated, and educated too in a manner most effective and unique, in anticipation of and in preparation for a final fulfillment of the aim of the national spirit.

In the mean time the world was approaching a crisis. Organic processes had so far fulfilled themselves in the centres of history which were grouped about the Mediterranean as to produce a general feeling that a cycle was drawing to a close, and that the conditions were such that a slight cause might determine the character of the future; that the future might, or even probably would, hinge upon one man. The immediate occasion, perhaps, of this crisis was the fact that war could continue no longer to play the part in history which it had played hitherto. War had been the normal social state, and peace but a secondary one, a preparation for war. Civilization had been of the militant type. Idealists had dreamed of something better, but they had been put down as dreamers. The kingdoms of this world had been definable as those whose "servants fight."¹ One of these having made universal conquest, the only possible wars grew out of civil dissensions or barbarian inroads, neither of which could be good schools

The great
crisis.

¹ John xviii. 36.

of even military virtues. The genius for conquest did not involve genius for permanent, peaceful administration. The Cæsar as a prince of peace was an ignominious failure. The Roman was not weeping because there were no more worlds to conquer; he was rotting. All men felt that his decline had begun, and that his fall was certain. And that fall would drown Western civilization in a deluge of barbarism, which would become infected with its vices, but would not be endowed with its virtues. What history now plainly reveals haunted the foreboding heart of that age, or provoked the visions of seers, — that a supreme crisis was impending.

Where now could a power be found to take the helm and guide history in safety through this crisis? Far to the east slumbers the land of Confucius. But Confucianism ^{Israel the rescue.} is a flowerless plant, and is running itself out. From it no fertile seed will be wafted to the West. The lethal gospel of the Buddha awakens no response in the ozone-breathing Occident. Greece had given birth, sporadically, to Socrates; but his name is barren, being alone. Greece had not herself had the moral vigor to preserve her own life. Rome's hope, when realized, proved to be insufficient. Every promise had withered or aborted, — except one thing. The Hebrew spirit, sensitive as it always had been not only to internal but to external impulses, had been making

preparations for just this crisis.¹ A political non-entity, Israel is, because of this spirit and what it has done for her, a power of the first class. She alone has carried over the truest ideals of prehistoric times. She borrowed all that was worth keeping of Egyptian civilization. She drained Babylon and Persia of their best. She alone knows how to get the meat without the poison out of Greek culture. She, if any one, is fitted to solve the problem of the world's future.

Now Israel had never yet failed to meet in some way of her own the requirements of a supreme hour; and a history of the exigencies through which she had come would show that it was the Hebrew spirit which, in manifold ways, had brought about the inventions or adjustments necessary to meet them. What seemingly arbitrary interventions occurred would be discovered to be such accidents and coincidents as are common to all nations. The specifically Hebrew mark is readiness to take advantage of these accidents, so that to those to whom spiritual causes are invisible they appear like interventions. Investigation would show that

¹ "Hopes which formerly were confined to the soil of Judea . . . this time set the world in motion. For these hopes now coincided with a widely spread and energetic feeling, one that at that epoch thoroughly penetrated all nations alike, — the feeling that the present state of the world was absolutely untenable." Hausrath, *New Testament Times*, vol. ii., p. 94.

the same causes which have been preparing this world-wide crisis have been stimulating the Hebrew spirit to the preparation for meeting it. For the spirit, with its cosmopolitanism, has kept the nation in organic relations with the historical movements of the times. If it appeared to even a non-Hebrew observer like Virgil¹ that the crisis was such as to demand a supreme hero, still more likely would it be that the Hebrew spirit, which had always carried its point in the face of emergencies by concentrating itself in some individual, would now be getting ready to meet this supreme crisis by that supreme expedient.

Accordingly, we discover that that widely diffused expectation of a hero was not a circumstance compared with the intense expectation which was beginning to bring the Messianic expectation. Jewish mind into a state of alertness. It is not necessary to suppose that the outside hope was borrowed from Judaism. The better explanation is that the Jewish hope was founded upon an especially acute perception of the necessity of the case, which had come to the Hebrew mind centuries before, and had now, therefore, the cumulative force of both tradition and perception. What had long been known to the Jew was now becoming apparent to the rest of the world. It was because the Hebrew spirit was more than Hebrew, because it was a universal spirit, that it discovered

¹ Eclog. iv.

in advance the thing which would one day be universally seen, namely, the need of a Messiah.¹

What is of more importance than the expectation of the Messiah in the Jewish nation at this time is the readiness of that nation to produce the Messiah. For while as an individual that personage must possess a certain element of originality and unaccountability, yet as fulfilling the demands of the age, and bringing to its culmination the long course of Hebrew history, he must, in another large sense, be born out of the fullness of that history. The expectation of the Messiah was not only the manifestation of a sense of need, the advertisement of a want; it was the expression of a semi-conscious fitness to produce him, a sensation of fullness, of pregnancy.² The previous history of Israel would bid

¹ The law of parsimony would indeed suggest the likelihood that if that expectation is found elsewhere it is to be accounted for by the transmission from the Hebrew rather than by independent discovery. But other considerations would point the other way, and if we attempted to base the speculations of Virgil upon Isaiah, we could not but inquire also concerning Plato's indebtedness, which would lead us farther afield than our topic permits at this point.

² "A peculiar atmosphere had gathered. . . . There was a confidence in this expectation which was very near akin to an attempt to accomplish it." "Moreover, a history of a thousand years had educated the people for this faith. It was the result of the whole previous development, and now there remained but this choice, either to give up the convictions of their fathers, or else courageously to hope that now, even at the eleventh hour, the promises would be fulfilled which had been held out to the

us look beyond the barrenness and sterility of official Judaism, to find the readiness for the coming event in some small nucleus. The prophets had long learned this secret, and in the midst of general and official apostasy had clung to their faith in the existence of a "remnant," though invisible. When Elijah was tempted to think he was alone in holding to the tradition and the hope, he was rebuked by the spirit, which affirmed that thousands were still loyal.¹ Isaiah cherished the thought of a vital remnant.² Many a time in the past would the historian of externals have declared that the Hebrew spirit had let go its hold upon the nation. If Josephus were to be trusted, the Israel of his day had lost its messianic potentiality, giving way to dilettante indifference on one hand, and ignorant fanaticism on the other. But he has read the prophets to no purpose who is misled by Josephus' picture of the barrenness of his age. He told what he knew, perhaps; but he was as blind to the life and expectation hidden under the surface as he was to the spiritual force embodied in the despised sect which has since created Christendom.

people since the time of Joel." "The mould had long before been formed in which he, the greatest of his people, had to be cast; and that one did come who gave contents to this form is a sacred sign that that which the people had been so long bearing in their hearts, as their beloved and best, was never merely a phantom of the imagination." Hausrath, *New Testament Times*, vol. i., pp. 201, 203, 204.

¹ 1 Kings xix. 18.

² Isa. i. 9.

Were there no direct proof of it, the existence of a remnant endowed with the potency of the Hebrew spirit might be fairly suspected from the circumstances of the case. It would be hard to believe that every man, woman, and child of a whole nation could have been, for some generations, familiar with the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the best of the Psalms, and be as dead all through as Jewish life was on the surface. Given the Scriptures, the synagogue, and the Sabbath, and one may almost affirm such a remnant, saying, with the prophet, that such divine word could not return void, but must prosper in the thing whereunto it was sent.

The existence and character of such a remnant, moreover, is to be known by what came out of it. Jesus has not the stamp of an article of magic manufacture. He is original; but he is also equally a growth and an outgrowth. Like most great men, he was markedly a mother's son. A mother means a home; and since homes, like flowers, flourish only by cross-fertilization, one home means others of much the same species; and this means a set of common motives and ideas, a social, moral, and religious environment. Jesus and his work undeniably came out of a more or less suitable and specific environment. This specific environment may be called the "messianic remnant."

Concerning this remnant, however, not only is there indirect evidence, but abundant and irrefuta-

ble direct proof has been preserved by one of the biographers of Jesus.¹ The first two chapters of Luke's Gospel have imbedded Proof of it. in their narratives — of whose historicity it is not necessary here to inquire — certain songs which bear internal evidence of having belonged to a pre-Christian circle which preserved the Hebrew spirit in its best form, and looked with an intense and significant longing for the coming of the promised one. Luke's narrative is undoubtedly founded upon some Hebraic or Aramaic source, and has a verisimilitude in its fitness to the poems which could not have been invented by Christian minds. These songs manifestly took their final shape before the time of the personal activity of John and Jesus. They constitute a small but sufficient collection of the folk-lore of the remnant which gave birth to those two men. They afford data for determining with much exactitude the precise conditions which held in that inner circle where the necrosis of legalism and rabbinism had not penetrated, and where the Hebrew spirit as embodied in the sacred writings was having its free course.

These songs, which constitute material for a knowledge of the immediate environment out of

¹ "More especially in the introduction to the Gospel of Luke, the figures of which are genuine representations of those to whom at this time . . . the promise of the Messiah had been made by the Holy Ghost, . . . does a breath reach us of that spirit which inspired every Jewish household." Hausrath, *New Testament Times*, vol. i., p. 201.

which John and Jesus came, are the "Magnificat,"¹ the "Benedictus,"² the "Gloria in Excelsis,"³ and the "Nunc Dimittis."⁴ These are clearly pre-Christian, yet not very ancient. They belong to somewhere about the time to which the evangelist assigns them. Both in wording and in conception they are remarkably Scriptural. They are broad, covering practically the whole of Scripture, while they are richest in the prophetic parts which were largely ignored by the scribes, and denied altogether by the Sadducees. Of the later rabbinism they show no trace. Both in tone and idea they fairly represent the spirit of Hebrew history and literature. They seem to be part of a psalmody, and have been so used by the Christian church. Yet they were not sung in the synagogues. Their existence would appear to show that among the scattered representatives of those who cherished the messianic hope in its purity there was some kind of freemasonry, and that perhaps they met in private conventicles to cherish their more spiritual faith, away from the chill of officialism which had settled over even the synagogues in all considerable places. Hints of such meetings are found as early as Malachi,⁵ and probably these private groups rather than the more formal synagogue may have given the model for the early Christian gathering.

¹ Luke i. 46-55.² *Ibid.* i. 68-79.³ *Ibid.* ii. 14.⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 29-32.⁵ Mal. iii. 16.

The purely spiritual tone of this remnant would save it from becoming sectarian. Its members would keep up the external "means of grace," and estimate them for what they were worth, and they were worth much. Some frequented the temple,¹ some the synagogue. Some continued to exercise the priestly functions.² Some, like John, held relations, or halfway relations, with the Essene circle. The spirit of this circle did not necessarily lead to any break with the manifold external expressions of Jewish life. It was not hostile to them, only more vital. These four songs alone, not to speak of the probability that they are only specimens, were enough, serving as cradle songs or hymns for social neighborhood meetings, to have created a set of conditions eminently fitted to give birth to such men as the Baptist and Jesus. And nothing is more clear than that they were caused by the specific and timely action of the Hebrew spirit.

This remnant doubtless embraced the choicest souls of the nation,³ who were, as the tenderly beautiful expression is, "waiting for the consolation of Israel."⁴ They were of every class, from shepherds and journey-
Catholicity
of the
"Rem-
nant."
man mechanics to men and women of culture and

¹ Luke ii. 25-27, 36, 37.

² *Ibid.* i. 5.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 25.

⁴ "There is reason to believe that beside the Sadducean aristocrats and the Pharisaic scribes and the extensive classes of people whom they spiritually influenced, and besides the world-renouncing Essenes, there was at that time another circle among the Jew-

breadth of vision, like Simeon and Anna ; and there is truth-likeness in the story of the first Gospel that the interest of foreign sages was enlisted in this expected advent.¹ What sage of that day who knew Isaiah and the Psalms could help dreaming at least of a Messiah out of Israel? The same spirit which had produced and preserved this expectation in Israel, and had drawn thousands of proselytes to external Judaism, would tend to gather into the fold of the secret remnant choice souls from without, spiritual descendants of those waiters for salvation who from prehistoric times had kept open lines of communication with the messianic nation. Thus while the circumstances of the time had driven the Hebrew spirit from publicity to privacy, it had there organized the nation's life energies, which, under the supremest tension, were travailing to bring forth nothing less than the final fruit of the spirit in a messianic personage. So the Hebrew spirit, the specific energy of Hebrew history, was preparing to enter a career as a world force.

ish people whose hearts were the abode of pious gratitude and trust, and of sincere obedience to the duties of faithfulness and love, nourished by a simple and upright searching of the Scriptures. Joseph and Mary were doubtless among this number." Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, vol. i., p. 93.

¹ Matt. ii. 1-10.

IV.

UPON each member of the "messianic remnant," that inner circle where were being converged the life forces of the Hebrew race, the Hebrew spirit was able to bring its power to bear, in conspiracy with personal or other idiosyncrasies. Particularly were the circumstances such as to bring the specific energy of this spirit to operate with peculiar force upon the spirit of Jewish womanhood. For centuries, in Israel, all the life energies of the sex most sensitive to ideal and emotional influence had been concentrating themselves, under the dominance of the Hebrew spirit, upon one ambition, — to be the mother or ancestress of the Messiah. Every other feminine instinct had been so directed as to minister to this craving. The joys of wedded love were forgotten or swallowed up in the hopes and possibilities of motherhood, because of what motherhood might mean in the fulfillment of the prophecy. The romancer's picture of the development of the maternal instinct in a mythical century yet to come¹ is trivial compared with the actual facts of Jewish

The spirit
and Hebrew
womanhood.

¹ Bellamy, *Looking Backward*.

womanhood in the circles where the Hebrew spirit was having its perfect work in the development of the messianic hope. If ever a class of persons lived among whom general causes might ally themselves with individual peculiarities to produce effects out of the range of ordinary probability, these Jewish women were such a class.

The stimulus of the Hebrew spirit had made the history prolific in strong individualities; so that the range of variation was great among the members of the nation at large, and would naturally be greater among the members of the messianic remnant. This remnant gave birth to the most extraordinary man the world has known. Since it is almost a law that the mothers of remarkable men should be remarkable, the presumption is that the mother of Jesus was a woman of no ordinary endowments. Now if it be true, as it admittedly is, that the thing her son has done for the world is to bring to its culmination the work of the Hebrew spirit, and, by identifying it with his own, to send it forth as a world force, a presumption arises that that which was extraordinary about this woman had something to do with a peculiar responsiveness, in her woman's way, — *in her woman's way*, — to the specific activities of that spirit. The Hebrew spirit was that of the Hebrew religion as well as of the Hebrew nation and history and literature. It was therefore the spirit of the Hebrew God,

of Jehovah. To the woman's nature, always religiously inclined, that spirit would stand less for the specific energy of the national life than for that of the national God: it would be the spirit of Jehovah, the divine or holy spirit. The presumption, therefore, is strong not only that the Hebrew spirit, but that that spirit in its religious form, as the spirit of the Hebrew God, played some important part in the ante-natal history of Jesus.

In whatever manner the narratives of the first and second evangelists may have originated, they form altogether an absolutely consistent story of perfect beauty and delicacy, in ^{Story of his birth.} which no flaw can be found, — except the incredibility of the main allegation. Nothing is wanting, nothing is redundant, nothing is out of place. Even the silence of Jesus concerning it adds to its consistency. The neglect of the synoptists to adjust other parts of their material to it is in its favor. The failure of the theologians, Paul and John, to make use of it after the manner of modern theologians allays suspicion of dogmatic interest. Psychological criticism explains away certain parts of it, but in so doing it brings out most strikingly the psychological truth-likeness of the whole. It would be easy to account for, as it would be easy to disprove, a vulgar myth. But if this is a myth it is no vulgar one; and the difficulty of accounting for the unapproachable purity

and delicacy, and, in every respect but one, the truth-likeness of it, on any other hypothesis than its substantial truthfulness causes denial to hesitate even in the face of incredibility. Belief is probably too much to ask of the mind which is under the sway of the modern spirit, at least until it be shown that the verdict of physical science is permissive of such belief; concerning which it is not our purpose here to inquire.¹ In view, however, of the strange conflux of causes, never confluent before nor since, and the marvelous outflow of effects, some may be able without loss of mental integrity to maintain for the present a suspense of judgment. It is enough in this connection to have drawn attention to the fact that the Hebrew spirit in its most specific form, as the spirit of the Hebrew Jehovah, was certainly somehow a positive element in the proximate pre-natal history of Jesus; as it must have presided also, with its purity and delicacy, and, on the whole, sanity, in the literary creation of the stories which have been preserved concerning that birth.²

The environment out of which Jesus was born

¹ It is sufficient to remark here that facts are beginning to be disclosed by biological science which tend to lessen the inherent incredibility of such an occurrence in such wholly exceptional circumstances. The part which the environment, acting as a whole through the agency of its forces, and particularly of its psychic forces, may play in biology, is something which will repay further study.

² Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Book II., cap. ii.; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vol. ii., pp. 39 ff.

was also that into which he was born, and hence he is to be thought of as growing up in the midst of home and social surroundings in which the spiritual tension was high. The same poetical fragments which give us a glimpse of the messianic remnant before his birth show us upon what his young life fed. Picture a household in which the mysteries of life are made plain, and its commonplaces transfigured in the light which is shed from those four poems in Luke's Gospel. Given the home of a Jewish carpenter, poor but not pinched, in sunny, flowery, free Galilee, with its synagogues, its Sabbath, its Scripture, its annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem, its saturation to the point of precipitation with the ideas and sentiments which these institutions have been fostering for centuries. Give this family as its prime consciousness, no matter how come by, a conviction, perhaps not rare among pious households in that day, that it had in its bosom him who was to fulfill the expectation of Israel; and let this conviction find its specific modes of conception in the shape of this maternal song now ascribed to Mary, this paternal song ascribed to Zacharias, this heart-song of the shepherds ascribed to the angels, and the sage words ascribed to the aged Simeon. Let the daily life be lived, the weekly Sabbath spent, the Scriptures repeated, the visits to Jerusalem made, and all these things find their interpretation, at least to the heart of

Surround-
ings of his
childhood.

yearning and brooding motherhood, in the terms of such poems as these, and what an atmosphere must have been generated in that home! The very presence of the Hebrew spirit, in its most religious and sacredest manifestation, as "the spirit of the holy gods,"¹ of the Holy One of Israel, the Holy Spirit, must have reigned in that home, nurturing the messianic character, and preparing a basis for the messianic consciousness of Jesus of Nazareth.

From this point it becomes difficult to avoid following the history of Jesus himself rather than that of the spirit. The Hebrew spirit now identifies itself with that of his personality, and when it has again become distinct it has that indelible stamp upon it. It is still possible, however, to trace the distinction at points during his life. It is noteworthy that the only one of the many legends of the childhood of Jesus which could hold its place in the canonical Scriptures is the only one that is wholly free from the marvelous, as though the fine instinct of early Christianity found itself unable to tolerate anything like monstrosity in a child.² It is said that at the age of twelve the boy went with his parents to Jerusalem to the feast. It was one of the many wise Jewish customs, dictated by the Hebrew spirit, that at that climacteric period when nature demands a widening of the boy's horizon, when he

The home
and the
nation.

¹ Dan. iv. 8, 9, 18; v. 11.

² Luke ii. 40-52.

begins to chafe under narrow restraints, he was treated to a first visit to the national capital, to a great national feast; and then, if he had anything in him, he would at once awaken to a larger thought, and enter the current of the larger national life. No longer satisfied with the boundaries of home or village, the broader horizon he was longing for he found in a conception of the nation. The national life was at this time represented by conflicting elements and party ideas. In many respects, however, these were a sign of wealth rather than of poverty of spiritual and social materials.¹ The boy who could not embrace all could serve his generation passably as a party man. The boy who could get above party could form a germ of a comprehensive conception. The necessity for and the difficulty in forming a comprehensive conception of the national idea had both become very great, and the man who thought he had grasped it was tempted to believe himself the Messiah.

Like other thoughtful boys, Jesus at this time found the germ of a national idea forming itself in him; and since from that grew the messianic idea with which he set out to conquer the world, the nature and origin of this germ is a matter of much interest. The story is probably true, since it is truth-like, and at the same time unlike what would have been invented

The national
conscious-
ness.

¹ Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vol. i., p. 328.

by any one in that age. It is said that when the parents of Jesus were ready to return, he remained behind. It was what was to be expected of a normal boy in the circumstances. Finding congenial surroundings, and conscious that he had a true place in Jerusalem and a true obligation thitherward, there arose a conflict of claims between the narrow life of the home and the broader one of the larger environment. He simply forgot the family party, and, probably never before having given cause for anxiety, he was not missed for some time, when the parents sought him in vain, and in dismay returned to discover him after some trouble in one of the temple schools. The boy must some day free himself from the leading-strings and live his own life. The mother must some day learn that the estate of infancy does not continue forever, and begin to let him have his own way even when it is contrary to her own judgment. No more thoroughly human relationship is anywhere depicted than that of Jesus and his mother from henceforth. They never quite agree. Herself a woman of strong personality, she did not surrender it during his lifetime, nor allow her faith in him to become more than the loving allegiance of a mother to a son in whose character and future she persists in believing, though his actual career only dazes and confounds her. Mary always remained an Old Testament character. She gave birth to the Messiah, but she never understood him while

he lived.¹ In answer to his mother's chiding, Jesus made his first recorded utterance: "Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" "Did it not occur to you that I had obligations in this direction as well as toward you?" The language is that of explanation and self-justification. He felt that his range of right and duties had widened, that he was no longer a mere child whose life was to be limited by the ideas of his parents. This new and larger selfhood had to be asserted, and the assertion was not to his discredit, any more than it was to the discredit of his mother that she should record a protest against it.

To the Jewish boy the claim of the larger environment was that involved in the awakening of the national consciousness. The specific form which this took in Jesus' mind was expressed in the term "my Father's house." "My Father's house." The phrase was probably formed on the spur of the moment by way of making an exculpatory reply. It was therefore an instinctive formulation of what seemed to him to be the chief aspect of that larger world which now opened before him. Like a Jewish child he naturally saw its symbol, and seemed to himself to see its reality in the temple with its ritual and its schools. That identification of his larger relationships and responsibilities with the

¹ It is far-fetched to explain this story and the Gospel characterizations of Mary and of her relations to Jesus by later dogmatic considerations. Everything is natural and consistent.

temple was inevitable and most fortunate; for in later life it saved him, in spite of his revolt against the established order, from the fatal error of Essenism, separatism. He broke finally with the temple only on that day when he crossed the valley of the Kidron, and, looking back, prophesied its destruction. Long before this he had learned to find his Father in the busy haunts of common men and in the lonely mountains: but there were profound historical reasons why his thought should cling to the temple in Jerusalem; why, through the years of awaiting his call to active messianic work, his eye should turn toward it; why his ministry should always have had that goal in view. Jesus was no uncoördinated professor of abstract religion or ethics. He was nothing if not a part of concrete history, fulfilling in every way the historical continuities as they were being wrought out under the guidance of the concrete Hebrew spirit.¹

The temple idea in Jesus' first utterance is fully accounted for by the Hebrew spirit which was exercising its influence upon the youth. But this was not the vital germ of his thought. That was rather that of the fatherhood of the God whose worship was the crown of the Jewish national system. Israel was a theocracy. Its national consciousness was religious, was a God-consciousness. But what kind of a God-consciousness? A Moloch-consciousness, or an Astarte-

The germ
thought.

¹ Hausrath, *New Testament Times*, vol. ii., pp. 156-159.

consciousness, or a Jove-consciousness? It was a Jehovah-consciousness. But the term "Jehovah" is not descriptive, appears to have almost avoided being descriptive. The Hebrew spirit seems to have brought it about that the conception of Jehovah had been partial, tentative, nascent, futuritive. It seems as though the Hebrew was awaiting the Messiah to stamp a worthy meaning upon his term for "God." If now this boy was to be the Messiah, and this was to be the occasion when he should beget the germ of his conception of Jehovah, it was an interesting crisis in his history and in that of the world. His own life and career, and through him that of the world, is profoundly modified by the fact that "fatherhood" struck him as the primary characteristic of Jehovah.

This thought of the divine fatherhood was Jesus' great stroke of originality. It was creative. From that moment he stood forth as the destined redeemer of the world. Yet it Original, yet not sporadic. would be hard to point out just where the originality came in. It would be unhistorical to think of his using such a term in such a connection unless the term already had, from its use in other connections, a meaning like that which he gave to it. And we learn, from its incidental uses throughout his life, that, as indicating ordinary home relationships, he knew it in its ideal significance. It is therefore to be presumed that in his own home with Joseph and Mary he had known something

of the meaning of ideal fatherhood. If he had, this was a product of the Hebrew spirit.

Equally impossible is it to ascribe to him the first use of the term "Father" as a name for God.

In every nation it has been so employed.
Fatherhood
in the Old
Testament. Most peoples thought of their national
 god as their natural progenitor. This

often grew into a notion of God as holding a patriarchal or governmental relationship to the nation. Where less spiritual tendencies prevailed, it also gave rise to sensual notions, and often to licentious practices. In the Hebrew literature it occurs but rarely.¹ In most of these cases the use is purely secondary and metaphorical. "It was by no means the customary and prevalent designation of God by the Israelites. Nowhere in the Psalms, which were the most direct expressions of reverence to God as taught in the Old Testament, was God addressed as Father of the people of Israel or of individual Israelites.² The title in the Psalms was 'King.' In the utterance of the Prophet of the Exile, who reached the summit of messianic prediction, the designation is 'Servant' rather than 'Son' of Jehovah. The idea of a divine father is nowhere the ruling conception in the Old Testament. Jesus made it at once a ruling, almost

¹ The word is applied to God not more than seven times in the Old Testament. See Ps. lxxviii. 5, ciii. 13; Isa. ix. 6, lxiii. 16, lxiv. 8; Jer. xxxi. 9; 1 Chron. xxix. 10.

² In both the cases where it occurs in the Psalms, it is but a simile. See Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, vol. i., pp. 187, 188.

an exclusive, and a purely spiritual conception." ¹
This was his stroke of originality.

The important thing, however, for us to observe concerning the coining, or at least the stamping as current, of this term for the Godhood, is that it was precisely what was needed to give full culminating expression to the spirit of all that was distinctively Hebrew. The most original things, the only ones that are of use, are they which, when once done, appear so necessary that we are surprised no one thought of them before. They are based, not upon pure invention, but upon keen perception. The moment Jesus uses the term "Father," it flashes out so that it can never again be obscured. Then it appears so obvious as to need no proof that the spirit which had been striving for its full development in the Hebrew life was the filial spirit, the spirit of a divine-human sonship and brotherhood. It appears, therefore, that in hitting upon this term for God, Jesus was obeying the promptings of the ancient Hebrew spirit, was at a single stroke fulfilling in potentiality every jot and tittle of the law of that spirit.

Until the time of his baptism, it would appear as though Jesus lived under the promptings of the filial spirit, in his individual and family and village life, without receiving its full unction as an historical force carrying him into the currents of public affairs and marking him out for

Culmination
of the
spirit.

"Led of the
spirit."

¹ Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, vol. i., pp. 186-190.

a public career. Following its impulses, however, as it led him, with the other more sensitive of his countrymen, into the movement started by the Baptist, — upon whom had come a narrower and more specialized manifestation of the spirit, which could be described as “the spirit and power of Elijah,”¹ — Jesus submitted to the ordinance which indicated his readiness to undertake whatever might be his share in the coming revolutions. At that moment he was aware that the spirit descended upon him in its fullest power, and rested upon him.² Immediately afterward it drove or led him into the wilderness to be tempted. In this temptation, allowing for the necessarily pictorial modes of statement concerning what was an internal experience, there is the strictest likeness to life. The way he met it is precisely such as would be prompted by the filial spirit toward God, and the correspondingly fraternal one toward his fellow-men.

When Jesus emerged from the wilderness after his temptation, and began his public life, the harmony of his spirit and his personality was such that it becomes difficult to speak of one without writing the history of the other in detail. It is henceforth easier to iden-

The person-
ality and
the spirit.

¹ Luke i. 17.

² “At his baptism he became conscious that that thing which was specific to the messianic preparation, that is, the spirit of Jehovah, had come upon him in full measure.” Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, vol. i., pp. 99, 100. See also p. 101.

tify the spirit as his than as the ancient Hebrew spirit, although it is certain that it was that spirit which had entered into and had found its most perfect expression in him. Points are found, however, where the operation of the spirit may be discerned. The unity and the progressiveness in his career, for instance, is rather because of the consistency in his spirit than because of any comprehensive grasp of idea. It is true that the thought which he hit upon at his twelfth year was capable of becoming a coördinating and constructive idea. It appears, however, that he is ruled less by the filial idea than by the filial spirit, which gave to him, without logical discursiveness, such ideas and such practical promptings as he needed under all circumstances. When, therefore, he promised his disciples that the spirit which he would send upon them would teach them all things and bring to their minds all needed recollections,¹ he was probably taking a leaf from his own experience. He had learned that the right idea would come when circumstances demanded an idea, the right speech when speech was wanted, the right action when action was needed, and that the pervading power of the right spirit would keep these all in right relationships with one another.

The filial spirit could be depended upon to teach him unerringly concerning all the problems which presented themselves. When the question of

¹ John xiv. 26.

prayer was raised, he was ready at once with an answer of marvellous felicity, which settled the whole question in the light of the conception of divine fatherhood, the only conception which can leave room for prayer. Even the limitations which he recognized to the effectiveness of prayer were prompted by the same spirit. "Father, I knew that thou hearest me always,"¹ he says at one time. At another he prays, "If it be possible, let this cup pass." Then, acknowledging the superior wisdom of the Father, he assents, "Not as I will, but as thou wilt."² He felt no hesitancy about expressing his thought to his Father, because as a son with an independent life of his own he had a right to an independent opinion. "As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself; and hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of man."³ The sense of sonship as the counterpart of fatherhood gave to his intercourse with the Father the largest and freest range, and took away from it every hint of servility. It has been truly said⁴ that religion does not begin until the sense of dependence is modified by that of relative personal independence. One does not pray who cannot say "I" as well as "Thou."

¹ John xi. 42.

² Matt. xxvi. 39; Mark xiv. 36.

³ John v. 26, 27.

⁴ Matheson, *Messages of the Old Religions*, p. 13.

To such an extent did the filial spirit dominate Jesus that the whole external world was to him but the manifestation of the Father's love and thought. Hence his observations and meditations were colloquies with the Father. Every presentation of objective truth, in so far as it became intelligible, was the Father's voice. Yet in that the perfection of the filial spirit was not more manifest than in the complementary fact that he was never betrayed by it into mistaking subjective impressions or hallucinations for the divine voice. He and the Father were not only one: they were also two; and he never "confounded the persons." That is to say, he never had trances, as even men so sane as Paul and Socrates had. The emancipation of the God-vision from abnormal subjective conditions, which had been one of the triumphs of the Hebrew prophetic spirit in its earlier evolution, was in him altogether complete. His perceptions were as sane and objective as though he received his truth, like the scientist, from purely impersonal sources. At the same time they were as warm and glowing as those of the mystic.

The genuinely filial spirit of Jesus is illustrated in his attitude toward the idea of divine providence. He carries to its perfection the thought of God's relation to the world which is suggested in Genesis.¹ While

The objective world.

Providence and angels and demons.

¹ See Lecture III.

he cannot be satisfied with a merely impersonal, clockwork universe, ruled by dead law, yet he has no use in this connection for the angels and demons which had crept into the later Jewish thought to take the place of the banished demigods of the earlier paganism. To him the Father is so near that he needs no mediators. The only mediator needed is one to bridge the moral chasm which has opened between God and all the race but himself, through the loss of the spirit of children. This office he finds it his mission to undertake. No angel is needed, or could do it half so well. As to demons, he experiences something of the same difficulty as the authors of Genesis concerning the problem of evil. He doubtless regarded Satan and the demons as real persons, in much the same way as he did the Holy Spirit. That is, he was not so unhistorical as to transcend the mental habits of his age, and think of them in other than the theological way. Yet he was so sensitive to realities that he held no conceptions and used no language concerning them which was not easily translatable into thoroughly scientific terms. The prevalence at that time of spiritual phenomena, social forces of great and malign influence, producing mental and nervous disorders, cannot be disputed. They were an organic part of the age itself. Their existence as important social elements is accounted for by the same set of spiritual causes which made the age in general what it was. In

recognizing the fact that he had spiritual antagonists to contend with, Jesus utters a saying corresponding to that of the Protevangelium¹ when he says, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven;"² thus indicating that as the writer of Genesis had faith that the evil being would be banished from the physical universe, so he had no doubt that evil was to be banished from the spiritual universe. The same spirit which had produced the Protevangelium prompted this saying.

While thus on the one hand Jesus had freed himself from the demonology and angelology of the Pharisees, on the other hand he stood out against the essential atheism of the Sadducean deism. Sadducees. Their denial of the intervention of the angels and demons was part of a materialistic deism which ignored the personality of the power behind phenomena, and used the religious factor in society as a mere political makeweight. He accepted their doctrine of uniformity, but regarded it as the uniform kindness of a Father who with impartial love and forgiveness sends his rain and sunshine upon just and unjust, and who pitied not only the fallen monarch or saint, but the fallen sparrow. And so, in the same spirit, he improves upon Genesis, and, without interfering with physical science, or pandering to the mythological tendency, he introduces the thought of what may be called a universal special providence. Only the

¹ Gen. iii. 15.

² Luke x. 18.

filial spirit at its best is able to grasp such a thought of God's relation to the world; and yet it is but a carrying out of the spirit of the ancient Hebrew.

While Jesus had no such use for the angels as the Pharisees had, since his God was not a God
The unseen world. afar off, yet he was prompted by his spirit to adopt the idea that the unseen parts of the universe were peopled by holy beings innumerable who were full of interest in men. This was a necessary though unconscious corollary from the conception of God as a loving Father. Such a God could not be postulated as dwelling in an unpopulated vacuum. To do so would be a contradiction in terms. Yet the saneness of Jesus kept him from imagining that he had any special information concerning these beings; and hence when he goes farther it is evident that he is speaking pictorially; as when, borrowing current notions, he puts the touch of color into his portrait of Lazarus being carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.

The combination of unfaltering faith with complete reticence as to detail concerning the future
Immortality. life for himself and others is owing to his prompting by the same spirit. As a Son of God he could not contemplate death as other than a sleep. To have convinced him that it ended all would have been to smother out his life. He could breathe no other atmosphere than that of divine sonship. His God was "not a God of the

dead, but of the living.”¹ As little could his spirit of brotherhood brook the idea that his relations to other men were merely transient. He was not the brother of the dead, but of the living. He could do no other than affirm that love is eternal, and hence that the persons without whom it cannot exist are immortal. Yet he stopped there. He attempted no revelation concerning the things that are beyond. He respected the opacity of the veil that divides this world from the next, and he did not surrender the wholesomeness of his nature by any lapse into necromancy. He held only such things true as the spirit of divine sonship and human brotherhood required.²

It was this spirit which created for him his mission, and gave him his gospel of the kingdom and his personal place in history. His assurance that he and all other men were sons of God gave him a wholesome attitude toward human society and history. He saw the evil that was in it as no one else had seen it; but he also possessed in the highest degree the spirit of Hebrew optimism. He did not admit that evil was such a dominant element that it was hopeless to attempt to redeem society. He did not believe

Gospel of
the king-
dom.

¹ Luke xx. 38.

² The apparent exceptions in the cases of the transfiguration and of the resurrection are not overlooked. This is not the place to discuss them; but psychologically they are wholesome instead of morbid, and thus, in this respect at least, stand in a category by themselves.

that the courses of history led only to destruction, or that the sole salvation was to get out of the world. He did not desire that for his followers. For himself, he set to work to compass the world's redemption by entering into its history, deliberately choosing to identify himself with the course of events which had been preparing messianic possibilities. The idea of a divine fatherhood includes and legitimizes all history, and so it is eminently proper that Jesus take up the threads of national life and seek through it to realize his messiahship. Thus it was that he adopted the idea of the kingdom of God as the burden of his first preaching. Instead of preaching the divine fatherhood directly, which would not have been adapted to the mental readiness of his hearers, he met them part way by preaching the kingdom of God, and then interpreting it to them in the light of divine fatherhood. So he linked himself with the historical continuities.¹

The fact that the expectation of Israel was still divided between that of a kingdom of God and that of a personal Messiah made it possible for him to hold back until near the end of his career the assertion of his personal messiahship. This reticence was partly because it was consonant with his spirit not to put himself forward unnecessarily. Only circumstances, moreover, could reveal to him how he was to figure in the

Self-obli-
teration.

¹ Wendt, *Teachings of Jesus*, vol. i., p. 97.

affair. He knew that he was to hold a unique position; but what that position was he could learn only by experience. He might easily have conceived that he was to be the unseen and unknown agent in bringing in that kingdom, and that all the glory of it was to go to God alone, or to other men; and he would doubtless have been abundantly satisfied to have it that way. He received "not honor from men." The fact that he was to be the Messiah no more necessarily involved to his mind the fact that he was to be known or proclaimed as such than it did at first that he was to be known only to be despised and rejected and slain. Indeed, the duty of making his personal messiahship known probably came to him simultaneously with that of going to Jerusalem to face death. So Jesus withheld the proclamation of his personal relationship to the kingdom he was proclaiming in the days of his popularity and prospective success, and brought it forward when a victim was demanded. This was like one who was animated by the spirit of the true sonship and brotherhood.¹

To Jesus, looking at human society in the light of that spirit, the family and the circle of friends, the nation and the church, ^{Natural unity.} were seen to be of divine ordaining. He saw that the natural units and sub-units and all the nat-

¹ Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, vol. iv., pp. 256-281. Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Book V., cap. vi.

ural relationships belonged, in so far as they were normal, to the divine order. He did not propose to break away from that order. His own society, in so far as it was necessary that his redemptive work begin through some nucleus, should be the most natural kind of thing; for nothing artificial was as divine as that which was natural. His society, therefore, was based upon friendship: "I have called you friends."¹ Its model, if anything so natural needed a model, was probably, as has been remarked before, the "remnant," rather than the synagogue or the temple. Moreover, he chose to connect it with both the family and the nation, and with one of the profoundest of the national religious ideas, by borrowing its sacramental observance from the passover, which was at once a family, a national, and a religious observance. And so, with unerring instinct, Jesus put himself into the position of greatest advantage in ordinary life, in the family, national, and religious life, a position which he has held and strengthened until this day.

It is impossible, in so condensed a sketch as this, to do more than illustrate the way in which Jesus, without doing anything magical or artificial, but by the supreme naturalness of a life ruled by the spirit of life, the spirit of divine sonship and brotherhood, took to himself all the offices in the gift of humanity, more

Jesus'
cosmopolit-
anism.

¹ John xv. 15.

skillfully and more spontaneously than Augustus had concentrated upon himself all the offices in the gift of the Roman people. One of the things often commented upon is that Jesus was ignorant of how great was the world he was undertaking to save, of how many millions were in it, of how many billions were yet to be born, of how great was its extent, what continents were yet unmarked upon its maps. Jesus never formed any notion of geographical areas. Yet he was truly cosmopolitan. Never was a shallower sneer than that of Renan at Jesus' provincialism, — as though because he was not Parisian! Jesus was specially acquainted with the apocalyptic book of Daniel, of whose author Renan himself has well said that he was "the real creator of the philosophy of history."¹ No Roman emperor or senator could have so wide an outlook or so deep an insight into the actual historical conditions of his age as could come to a young Galilean imbued with the Hebrew spirit and educated in the literature of that spirit. Jesus, indeed, saw only the symbols of Greek culture and Roman power. But he had a key possessed by neither Greek nor Roman with which to interpret the meanings of those symbols. The spirit took the things of Greece and Rome and showed them unto him.

It was in accordance with the spirit of this historical movement into which Jesus entered that he

¹ *Vie de Jésus*, cap. iii.

should choose the cross. A true philosophy of history recognizes the law of sacrifice. Jesus did not choose to identify his person and his name with the kingdom he was building until it became clear that a life must be given for it. More than a life was demanded. One was wanted who was willing not only to lay down his life, but to do it as an outcast, as of the offscourings of the earth, to go to an ignominious death. There is something more absolute than to become the sacrifice for sin; that is, to become the offal of that sacrifice. So it is that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews calls attention to the fact, not that Jesus became a victim on the altar, but that he was crucified without the gate,¹ where those parts of the victim not considered clean enough for the altar were disposed of. This was not a denial, but a superlative application of the law of sacrifice, — to be destroyed as unfit for regular sacrifice.² The logic of the law of sacrifice requires that he who fulfills it to the uttermost should be rejected as unfit to fulfill it. A true philosophy of history, like that of the Prophet of the Exile, will discover the law of outlawry, to which we have referred heretofore, by

The philosophy of outlawry.

¹ Heb. xiii. 12.

² Everett, *Gospel of Paul*. Professor Everett believes that Paul's teaching concerning Jesus' relation to the law was that it made him an outlaw, that in fact this was its purpose. It is a question whether this view so much conflicts with as consummates the ordinary one.

which alone certain crises could be passed. The messianic movement was inaugurated and carried forward through its critical periods by men who faced outlawry.¹ Jesus in consummating it willingly gave himself up as the world's Supreme Outlaw.

The unerringness with which Jesus places himself at the central point, and fulfills in every way the highest law of human life and history, forces upon us the persuasion that it was done by the spontaneous impulses of his spirit rather than in obedience to any clearly worked out and prearranged plan. As above stated, it is exceptionally difficult to distinguish between the spirit and the personality of Jesus, because there is no conflict between them as in other men. It is only where it is natural for the spirit to act with a wider scope than the personality that we can mark the difference between the two. Jesus, for instance, could not know that there was such a continent as America, and hence could not take it into account in providing for the future of his kingdom. The spirit did not need to know, but it acted with as much teleological wisdom as if it had known. Personally, Jesus expected the end of the world to come within a generation. His spirit so guided him that that opinion involved no practical error of judgment; and he acted as wisely as he could

"The
anointing
teacheth."

¹ For example, Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Jeremiah.

have done had he foreseen the future. We can love him, because he is a man like ourselves, and no monster of a demigod. We can trust him, because he has the spirit of a God. As a man he was perfect. He would not have been a perfect man, but a perfect something else, if he had foreseen all things. He needed no such non-human foresight, for the spirit of truth guided him. He was "Christus," "the anointed one," because of the spirit which was poured out upon him; and it was through the anointing of this spirit that he was able to perform the offices of the Christ.

After this attempt to throw upon the life of Jesus the light of the Hebrew spirit, it might be

Hebrew history in light of Jesus' spirit.

well to review briefly Hebrew history in the light of his spirit. We do not find in that history the idea of divine sonship and human brotherhood expressed with any lucidity or consistency. Yet the spirit is in advance of the idea. The spirit which rules in Hebrew history is that of right personal relationships. It is this which leads to reform in religion as well as in morals. Its instinct is that social and religious relationships are identical in nature. Canon Fremantle is in error when he assumes that it is only when one "comes to know the central unity as Father, as love, that the relation between him and that unity becomes personal, spiritual," and that "this extends to all parts of the world, and especially to the relations of men

to one another.”¹ The error is in conditioning such spiritual relationship upon knowledge. The knowledge is more likely to grow out of a perception of spiritual relationships already existing than to precede and form the basis of the relationships. Only by the utmost stretch of accommodation of terms can the Hebrew be said to have had any inkling of the knowledge of divine fatherhood and human sonship. Even Fremantle, when he comes to deal with the subject concretely, falls back upon the “spirit of the law.”² The theocratic idea in Israel was softened and corrected by the spirit of something still nobler. Sometimes that spirit lifted the idea near to that of a father. “Like as a father,” said the psalmist.³ “I will be his father, and he shall be my son.”⁴ Yet the suggestion is always faint, while the spirit is indisputable. More, however, than in the occasional lift near to the idea is the spirit of this perfect relationship made plain by the nature of the claims which Jehovah is thought to make upon his people. “There is probably,” says Fremantle, “in modern hymns, eighteen centuries after Christ, more of artificial religion than in the psalms written in the bosom of Judaism.” “Almost every psalm appeals to the law of plain justice, public and private.”⁵ Jehovah is the

¹ *The World as Subject of Redemption*, p. 49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

³ Psalm ciii. 13.

⁴ 2 Sam. vii. 14.

⁵ *The World as Subject of Redemption*, p. 53.

champion of the widow and the fatherless, of the helpless and the weak. He delights in just rulers and judges, and in the festivals which foster and express the common life of the people and their mutual interests. Here we see the spirit of relationship, of fatherhood and sonship. So much in accord with this spirit was the Hebrew law that it could afterward be said that he had fulfilled it who had loved his neighbor.

The idea of divine fatherhood could have produced no good results had it been broached. For the term was wrapped up with animalism and sensualism, and the only way to redeem it was to do without it for a time.¹ To think of Jehovah as the national God in the sense of a progenitor would have tempted to a conception of a non-moral favoritism, and so to a precluding of the idea of universalism. So the Hebrew mind was turned in another direction. It did not think of God as belonging to them, but of them as belonging to him; and that not because he had begotten, but because he had

Self-re-
straint of
the spirit.

¹ It is perhaps as well, on the whole, that mediæval theology, existing as it did as the counterpart of so imperfect a political and social system and a false doctrine of the family, should have dwelt upon some secondary attribute of God rather than upon the idea of Fatherhood. To have used that name in the circumstances would have been only to take it in vain. Indeed, the assumption of the title "Holy Father" by the head of the ecclesiastical system made the term for the time an impossibility in a true theology.

chosen them. On the other hand, he was regarded as the creator and ruler of all men. In this and in other ways many errors were guarded against. The true family had to be evolved by the operation of the Hebrew spirit, before the time came when the term Father would not be misconstrued. Thus it was the very spirit of the higher spiritual relationship which Jesus meant by "Father" that had prompted to the temporary suppression of the idea of Fatherhood.

It is possible to sum up all that was specific in Hebrew history, that which both differentiated it from and finally integrated it with other courses of history, as the spirit of right relationships between all personalities; which relationships Jesus exemplified and expressed in his own relationships towards God and man. The Hebrew community was a brotherhood in which human relationships were more truly realized than elsewhere, and the spirit of it gave birth to the promise of an all-embracing society, including the "whole range of human interests, and binding all men and classes and nations together in true relations;" which "is the work and expression of the spirit of God."

It is not the fault of the facts, but of want of skill in the presentation of them, if it is not now clear that this spiritual agency is a concrete element in the history of the Hebrew nation and of Jesus, and that it is the one

The key to
Hebrew
history.

The profun-
dities.

continuous and specializing factor therein. Before passing to its further consideration, it is necessary to preclude misunderstanding by explaining that, while we have persisted in speaking of that which can be seen by any one possessing ordinary powers of discernment, we have not been unaware that all spiritual phenomena lie along the edge of the eternal mysteries. Every personal relationship has in it an element of the Infinite and the Unknowable. It is not necessary to be always saying so, or to be obfuscating one's self with vain efforts to penetrate the mystery; yet it is necessary to bear it in mind, and not to permit ourselves to think of either the Supreme Person or of any fellow-man without some touch of that awe and sacredness which is akin to worship. Two persons never meet without looking over the abyss of infinitude and eternity. Worship is a factor in every true personal relationship. We are a holy nation, a royal priesthood, each giving and receiving homage. The spiritual, even when we refuse to enter the theological or metaphysical sphere, brings us face to face with the Insoluble Reality. But this is also true of physical phenomena. There also we come into the presence of infinitude and eternity. The atoms which compose the material molecules also attract or repel one another across unfathomable spaces. Physical science is not paralyzed or distracted, or driven to mythology or metaphysics, by this fact. Spiritual science may maintain a like equanimity.

As remarked before, the Christian era might as well have been dated from Pentecost as from the birth of Jesus. Jesus was an era in himself. Our era began after he went away. While he was with his disciples his personality absorbed them, and the incidents of it occupied their attention. They did not understand, still less were they swayed, by the spirit which characterized him. As a person he had monopolized their social and religious possibilities. He had become their world and their God, though they had been unaware of the processes by which it had come about. He had gathered to himself a great part of the attributes which in the mind of the pious Jew belonged to Jehovah, and his society had taken the place of the nation in their interests and affections. His removal had brought them to desolation. They were stranded and stunned. They were to all intents and purposes without a God and without a hope in the world. When questioned about the matter, all they could say was that they had "hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel."¹ The fixed idea of the prophets and psalmists that Jehovah was the Redeemer of Israel had lost its hold upon them.² They do not appear to have prayed. The sound of the Angelus is not heard from Good Friday to Easter. They could not say "Our

¹ Luke xxiv. 21.

² Psalm cxxx. 8; Isa. xli. 14, xliii. 14; etc., etc.

Father." They had learned from Jesus to pray to his "Father," and if he was not, his "Father" had been proved an illusion. They huddled together or wandered aimlessly, like frightened sheep from whom the shepherd had been taken.

Then came to them that group of experiences which had upon them at least the effect of an

The resur-
rection. objective appearance of Jesus risen.

They believed in and had visions. They believed that men's ghosts sometimes walked.¹ But they did not believe that the ghosts were the men, and they not only declared that they had seen something else than a ghost, but to the end consistently acted as if they had. The effect, therefore, upon the disciples themselves, and through them upon the history of the world, has been as though Jesus actually rose from the dead. His personality has entered into the religious life of mankind in such a way as to give to the subjective persuasion that he rose, if it was subjective, all the energy and persistence of an objective perception. "The power of his resurrection"² at least is an objective phenomenon.

But still the disciples were helpless and spiritless. They could but wait for a new endowment of spiritual power. The renewed faith in the personality of Jesus was essential to the impartation of that spirit; but the exist-

Age of the
spirit.

¹ Mark vi. 49; Luke xxiv. 37-39.

² Phil. iii. 10.

ence of that faith did not make it a foregone conclusion that the spirit would appear. That such a spirit did appear the testimony is ample. In spite of the hesitation of many critics, the accounts in the book of Acts must be admitted to have in their main outlines the air of historicity. Luke's own conception of the spirit and its modes of operation was so conventionally inadequate that he cannot be supposed to have invented these things.¹ It is historically probable that the disciples would wait, no longer in their former hopelessness, but engaged in nugatory administrative details and in rather aimless devotions, until there came upon them, like an earthquake or whirlwind,² or, as the "Teaching of the Twelve" says, with a "strange, sweet odor," the power of a spirit which at once set them going with a specifically different and higher kind of activity. It was fitting that when the spirit of Jesus manifested itself it should first bring the pent-up convictions and aims of the disciples to articulate expression, and that the impulsive Peter should be their spokesman. Then for the first time, as they always afterwards confessed, they began to understand Jesus, and his language and actions.

¹ The name "Holy Spirit" appears some ninety-three times in the New Testament. Of these, fifty-two are found in Luke's writings. It was one of his literary "properties," and was generally employed with little discrimination.

² Acts i. 13-26; ii. 1 f.

What he had said and done came back to them fraught with the profoundest meaning and pregnant with truths of immeasurable import.

The spirit of Jesus has done more than any other power to open the gates of human speech, and to stimulate the interplay of those personal forces which find their channels in language. It was not only fitting, it was necessary that that which had now come into the world should begin with something like "a gift of tongues." "Language," says Matheson, "is the first instinct of unselfishness. The earliest words uttered by the lips of childhood mark the transition from the age of receiving to the age of giving; for words are the vehicles of thought, and speech is the gift of thought from man to man. We are not surprised when, almost immediately after the Pentecostal outpouring, we are told that these disciples had all things common. The age of brotherhood had begun. Hitherto the disciples had been divided against themselves by the recurrence of that question which had its source in personal ambition: 'Who shall be greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' But with Pentecost there woke into consciousness the reality of that great truth which as yet had been latent within them, that whosoever would be greatest must be servant of all. As the spirit of the new religion found vent in language, the disciple passed out of himself and entered into the heart of his

Gift of
tongues.

brother. The joy of communion between soul and soul had its birth in that hour when thought responded to thought in the utterance of a common speech, and the first bonds were knit of that mighty Christian union which all the powers of the world and all the vicissitudes of temporal history have been unable to break asunder.”¹

Not only was the fact of speech appropriate; equally appropriate was the substance and the manner of it. The speech imputed to Peter is like him, but like him stimu-
Continuity
maintained.
 lated, intoxicated, informed by the spirit of Jesus, — of Jesus the man whom he loved, and of Jesus the official Messiah, the consummator of all that had been preparing itself in the ancient history of the Hebrew race. It was skillful oratory for him to assert that this strange phenomenon was a fulfillment both of prophecy in general and of that particular prediction of the descent upon the many of the spirit of prophecy.² Moreover, it was an exact statement of the fact in the case. As the spirit of Jesus was the perfect expression of the ancient Hebrew spirit, and hence he was the fulfillment of all that was specific in the national development, so this was not only his spirit, which he was said to have promised, but it was also the ancient spirit. In its appearance, novel and revolutionary as it assuredly was, the true historical continuities were being maintained.

¹ *Growth of the Spirit of Christianity*, vol. i., pp. 83, 84.

² Acts ii. 16-21; Joel ii. 28-32.

V.

As soon as the spirit had passed out of Jesus back into ordinary men, it found, as it always had found before, intractable material to deal with. Impracticable schemes were tried, and there were delays and hitches in the launching of the regenerated society.¹ Even with unity of spirit unity of effort was often difficult. The first division naturally came along the line of cleavage already existing between the Hellenistic and Hebraistic Jews. The necessary limitations of the apostles made them incapable of administering a society so abounding in life and containing such diverse elements. The party of Stephen, which gave a hint of what afterwards became the Pauline school,² was disposed to the universalistic policy; while the party afterward known as that of James leaned toward a more exclusive national course. The former soon became the better organ of the

The spirit
again in
history.

¹ Acts iv. 34-37; vi. 1 f.

² The Pauline author of Acts, though his history may be partly idealistic, had undoubtedly more correct notions than his master as to the genetic continuity between the original Christian group and the Gentile type. The great apostle himself, fervent mystic that he was, was disposed to resent the suggestion of such relationship. Gal. i. 16 f.

spirit, and gave to the gospel an interpretation through which it could enter the larger life of Asia and Europe.

The solitary literary monument, however, of the Jewish party, the Epistle of James, is enough to dispel any doubt that the spirit was as fully present with that party as it was with the other. Corroborative evidence of this is seen in ^{Varying} the attitude of James toward the Pauline ^{types.} party when issue was joined among their followers.¹ Yet it is not difficult to see that the spirit could not fulfill itself within that circle. Judaism was the shell, originally secreted by the spirit, and under which it had best worked for some generations. Now that it was no longer needed for protection, it became a prison. Peter characteristically vacillated between the two courses, and managed to be of some service and disservice to both. On the whole, however, the spirit found him an effective organ, and his Epistles, written later in life, reveal his final rather hesitating conquest by the Pauline ideas. We cannot fail to note also a party which took a middle course, and stood ready to give an account of itself, — the party to which belonged the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, attempting to reconcile Judaism and Christianity without breaking so obviously as Paul did with the former, and yet without surrendering the supremacy and finality of the latter. Here was

¹ Acts xv. 1-29.

perhaps the germ of the Alexandrian type, which for some centuries was predominant, and is again contesting the modern supremacy of Paul. When we mention the Johannean type, of a little later origin, but also a bright trophy of the spirit in a most important province of religious thought and life, we are able to understand how manifold from the beginning was the organism which the spirit began at Pentecost to create.

It was necessary to the survival of the spiritual movement that variations of type should quickly spring up. A unity of exclusiveness Differentiation needed. would have defeated the mission of the spirit at once. Its life was of too high an order to be represented by a monocotyledonous germ. Differentiation is a primary life function. Had Christianity failed to produce a more or less tenacious Jewish type, it would have lost touch with Judaism before it could absorb its best elements. Had it failed to develop a Gentile type, it would have failed to enter into the greater world, where was the culture of the age and to which belonged the future. Had it failed to produce coalition types, it could have obtained no foothold with those large and important groups of eclectics who were seeking to combine all the elements of truth and culture. Had the Christian spirit not been as broad and hospitable and in the best sense opportunist as it was, it would have been untrue to its old self, the Hebrew spirit, which never let go an

occasion to make spoils of the spiritual wealth of its neighbors. Nothing of the life of that day which could be made to enter the life of the future escaped the aggressive, conquering power of the new spirit. "How Christianity could adapt itself to all earthly relations, and while it allowed men still to remain in them, yet by the new spirit which it gave them, the divine life which it breathed into them, how it was enabled to raise men above these relations, is distinctly set before us by a Christian living in the early part of the second century, who thus describes his contemporaries: 'The Christians are not separated from other men by earthly abode, by language, or by customs. They obey existing laws, and conquer the laws by their own living.' Yet this same loftier spirit, which could merge itself in all the forms it found at hand while it coalesced with all the purely human, came into conflict with all the ungodly nature of men. It announced itself as a power aiming at the regeneration of the world."¹

In these efforts to capture the future the spirit had a noteworthy success. Following the channels prepared for it by the pre-Christian Hebrew spirit in the Dispersion, its energies Organiza-
tion. flowed into every region of the world. Enlisting

¹ Neander, *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, pp. 69, 70. "In the first century we may say that the spirit of Christ was the pure fount of the knowledge of the truth for all his church." Van Oosterzee.

able and enterprising men, sons of their age, it entered into alliance with the spirit of the age itself, and pushed its movement into the world's capitals and along all its great highways. Beginning without formal organization, it invented or borrowed, first from the synagogue, and afterward from the Roman metropolitan system, until at length it was more perfectly organized than the empire itself. At first an *imperium in imperio*, its stability and efficiency outgrew that of the political power which was nominally over it. Whereas the organization of the empire was weakening, because it had almost ceased to fulfill its end of caring for the interests of the many, in its default that of the church began to cover and protect almost every province of life. It was new, and could respond with the more freedom to the needs of the hour. It had a loyalty which the empire was no longer able to command. Its members were Romans, but they did not hesitate to declare on proper and sometimes on improper occasions that they were Christians first. Hence the authority of this organization could appeal, as that of the empire no longer could, to internal sanctions. Murder, fraud, adultery, cruelty, idleness, were forbidden, not by external law, but by the exercise of a new set of motives.¹ Presently the laws of the Christian communities began to win the authority of custom even outside those

¹ Lecky, *European Morals*, vol. i., p. 468.

communities, and hence before they came to be embodied in statutes they had already produced wide effects.

It was the spirit of this Christian organization, rather than its conscious or avowed aims, which gave to it its power as a creator of public sentiment and custom. The public did ^{The specific element.} not understand its doctrines. Its own understanding of them was very imperfect. But its spirit excited wonder and admiration. "Behold how these Christians love one another," was the sentiment of the heathen. It became apparent after a little that they had love to spare also for others. Undreamed-of charitable movements originated among them. One of the first of these concerned the treatment of children. The horrors involved in the Roman practice of the exposure of children need no detailed description here. What is to be observed from our point of view is that the reformation in these matters, to which Christianity was the chief stimulus, did not grow out of any specific teaching of Jesus or his apostles, but only out of the operation of the spirit of that teaching and of the life that underlay it. Writers on the subject continually refer to this fact. "Nothing," says Brace, "could be further from Christianity's spirit than such enormities." "Under Constantine the spirit of Christianity began to affect legislation on this point."¹ Lecky also speaks of the abolition

¹ *Gesta Christi*, pp. 76, 77.

of infanticide as a triumph of the "spirit of Christianity."¹ It was through the exercise of charity in the establishment of foundling hospitals that the sentiment was created which afterward found expression in effective legislation. Some legislation had been enacted before, but it had been futile, because it did not represent the spirit of society.

Much of the charity which was prompted by the Christian spirit was open to criticism. It was

Charity. purely alleviative. But the fearful des-

titution and pauperism which prevailed called for emergency relief, while the circumstances of the times made anything but palliative measures appear hopeless. As the spirit of humanity grew, and with it the legal restrictions to child murder, the foundling hospital where no questions were asked was doubtless the occasion for great evils. But the day for effective social reconstruction had not yet arrived. The best thing possible as yet was to cultivate the spirit of humanity and charity, and prepare a soil out of which might spring something better in the future.

Lecky, who thinks that the share of Christianity in the protection of infant life has sometimes been

Inhuman
amuse-
ments. exaggerated, declares that it would be difficult to overrate its influence in the suppression of gladiatorial shows. "This

feat must be almost exclusively ascribed to the Christian church." "Comparing the Fathers with

¹ *European Morals*, vol. ii., p. 36.

the most enlightened pagan moralists in their treatment of this matter, we usually find one most significant difference. The pagan, in the spirit of philosophy, denounced these games as inhuman, or demoralizing, or degrading, or brutal. The Christian, in the spirit of the church, represented them as a definite sin, the sin of murder, for which the spectators as well as the actors were directly responsible to heaven.”¹ Thus, as Jesus is said to have predicted, the spirit reproveth the world of sin.

The influence of the spirit of Christianity upon the prevalence of suicide was most marked. In the ancient world this had been regarded as at the most a venial crime, which might

Suicide.

sometimes become a virtue. It is one of those evils upon which legislation has never had any noticeable deterrent effect. The spirit of Christianity, by putting a more wholesome tone into life in general, by bringing to those in despair a sound consolation, and by impressing upon men a sense of the sanctity of life and of the awful responsibility for rushing unbidden into the presence of God, succeeded in largely reducing the practice.

No institution has been so prolific of evil to the race as slavery. Its effects upon master and slave alike have been only degrading. Upon none is its demoralizing influence more

Slavery.

clearly marked than upon those who have been so far debauched by it as to imagine that they can

¹ *European Morals*, vol. ii., p. 37.

find redeeming features in it. The apologist for slavery, chattel, political, agrarian, or industrial, is one of the worst products of slavery. And slavery never existed in a worse form or to a greater extent than in the Roman Empire in the time of Jesus.¹ It ruined the family, it loosened every tie of morality, and insured financial wreck. It is not likely that Jesus came into contact with many of its worst evils. He nowhere says a word in condemnation of it. It was not for centuries that the incompatibility of slavery with his teachings was openly declared. The apostles were as silent as their master. Yet in the church bond and free were treated alike, a most signal innovation, since the Roman slave was not permitted to engage in patriotic worship. As the church became more and more the source of ruling ideas and sentiments, "the spirit of Christianity began immediately that long contest with human slavery, which, under changing fortunes and with many defeats, has been waged now for eighteen centuries, and may be said only to have won its final victories in the middle and latter half of the nineteenth century."²

The church has often been the apologist for slavery. Her record on this matter has been, as
The church and slavery. Brace says, "by no means consistent with or a development of the spirit of her founder."³ The influence of this spirit upon legis-

¹ *European Morals*, vol. i., p. 277.

² *Gesta Christi*, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

lation was inconsiderable ; little more at first than might have come about by the growth of humane sentiment among the pagans. But by introducing slaves upon perfect equality into the church, and permitting them to hold all offices, thus giving a moral dignity to men as men, regardless of their servile condition, and recognizing the value of servile virtues like humility, gentleness, patience, resignation, obedience, it introduced an element that could not but at length work a revolution.¹ Moreover, it was regarded as an act of piety to manumit slaves, and thus the number of freedmen was largely increased.

Nevertheless, it was fully ten centuries before slavery ceased to exist in Europe. Many material changes had first to occur, and the occasion had to be awaited for the final conquest of the spirit of Christianity in this matter. On this continent the conflict was prolonged until our own day. Our own recent history makes it indisputable that it was the spirit of Christianity which rendered it intolerable to the moral sense even of those who, because of ecclesiastical apostasy, were alienated from the name of Christ. Some rejected the Bible because of the false gloss which had been imposed upon it in respect to this matter. Yet it is clear that the spirit which refused to deny the manhood of any man, and saw a brother in the slave, was the spirit which came by immediate descent from one

¹ *European Morals*, vol. ii., p. 72.

who himself never said a word nor did an act directly against this sum of all villainies. The abolition of slavery in Christendom was distinctively a conquest of the spirit of Jesus.

The problem of the distribution of property could not be grasped until slavery was disposed of. It would have been as unhistorical for Jesus to have comprehended the modern property question as to have understood the political problems of the nineteenth century. He avoided personal error, and instinctively so dealt with the cases which came before him as to illustrate those fundamental relationships between man and man, and between man and material things, which the spirit could apply to the solution of property problems in later times. It is clear that the heart of Jesus was inclined toward the poor. But no remedies were then within reach on the large scale, nor had he the ear of those who held power. There is sufficient reason to believe that had circumstances placed him in a position where he could have been rightly asked for a decision concerning systems of wealth distribution, he would have been as unerringly guided by the spirit as he was in other matters. He inculcated the application of the principle of brotherhood to the use of wealth. He could do no more. The complications which would arise in the practical application of even so simple a principle he was not in a position to see. The reconstruction of the pro-

perty system at that time was out of the question. It remained so; and all that the early church could do was to try to alleviate the distress which grew out of it, by the distribution of charity.

Yet Jesus laid no special emphasis upon charity;¹ as though he had an inspiration to the effect that one day it might stand in the way of justice. In answer, however, to the charge that the Christian spirit of charity has encouraged dependence and cultivated improvidence, it should be said that the world witnesses no such pauperism to-day as it did when Christianity came into history. If it ever does again witness it, it will be not so much because charity will foster pauperism as because it will be used to debauch the consciences of those who ought to and who are able to remove all pauperizing tendencies from the social system. As the worst effects of slavery have been upon the masters, so the worst effects of unwise charity have been not upon the recipients, though these have often been very bad, but upon the givers.²

Concerning the influence which the spirit was able to exert upon the character and status of

¹ *Gesta Christi*, p. 101.

² One form of charity which began early in the history of Christianity, and was surely prompted by its spirit, caused little if any harm and measureless good to both givers and receivers, because it dealt with those who were the victims rather of unavoidable accidents than of moral or social wrongs. This was the founding and support of hospitals. Here was an expression of the purest and truest sympathy, which has never ceased to thrill the heart of Christendom.

woman and of the family relationships, it is difficult to speak without entering into the controversy

as to whether it was Christianity or the
 Woman. Teutons that contributed most to this end. It may be permitted us, therefore, to fall back upon the authority of Lecky, who is not partial to Christianity, and who speaks of a vast change having "passed gradually over the world, under the influence of Christianity, assisted by the barbarians."¹ It would appear from this that in his estimate Christianity had the larger share in this change.² Doubtless the Germans were, as Tacitus³ and Salvian⁴ claimed, far superior to the degenerate Romans. But Roman virtue had in the early days been as high, and had deteriorated instead of improving as civilization grew more complex. The Germans also were unable to resist the contagion of corrupt civilizations, and would doubtless have been utterly lost but for Christianity, whose virtue was not, like that of the Germans, of the savage type, but had been developed in the soil and atmosphere and in the face of all the temptations of civilization.

¹ *European Morals*, vol. ii., p. 364.

² A certain nameless vice which had been eating out the vigor and character of civilized men was so thoroughly eradicated, not by the barbarians, but admittedly by the spirit of Christianity, that its very existence has become inconceivable to the modern mind. "Our Lord himself," observes Brace, "never speaks of unnatural passions. The very spirit of his personality would banish even the thought of them." *Gesta Christi*, p. 36.

³ *Germania*, ix., xviii-xx.

⁴ *De Gubernatione Dei*.

The church made some disastrous errors in regard to the idea of those relationships which are at the basis of the family. But even in those errors it was groping after pro-^{The family.} found truths, and it is a question whether the conditions were such that it was possible to make progress much faster or by less circuitous routes. The exaltation of celibacy was an extreme reaction against the prevalence of a sensuality unimaginable to modern Christendom; and the spirit of Christianity was no more responsible for the excesses in the direction of asceticism than for those in the direction of sensual indulgence. Jesus himself was no ascetic; and his apostles leaned no farther that way than the circumstances of the times required. Their theories were sound.

As the questions of property distribution could not even be fairly stated until chattel slavery had been so generally abolished that slave labor ceased to be a factor of importance, so the very comprehension of the problem of the family, and of the many virtues and vices which grow out of its underlying relationships, has to await the complete emancipation of woman. The apostle Paul was not far out of the way when he was disposed to embrace the whole problem of redemption under the single category of emancipation. When men and women are free, and have learned to know the meaning of it, and to make the right use of it, the final act is ready to begin.

Although the solution of the problem of the family is incomplete, owing, among other causes, to the incomplete emancipation of woman, yet the family as it is is already one of the monuments to the redemptive and creative power of the spirit of Jesus; and this, too, although Jesus himself lived a celibate life, and felt it necessary to deprecate too strong an insistence upon mere family relationships. It would appear, however, that his own early home, and others in the circle out of which he came, were responsive to high ideals. In the group of disciples that gathered about him, women held a place of high consideration. That they did not engage in all the activities of men was not because of any want of recognition of their essential equality. They came into the church on practically equal terms with men. In enumerating the distinctions which had been abolished, the apostle could say not only, "there is neither bond nor free," but also, "there is neither male nor female."¹

Doubtless from the beginning of the era until now there have always been homes approaching near to the ideal. To-day the number is largely multiplied, and in many large areas of Christendom the average home is worthy to be characterized as a Christian institution. The Christian home is often more or less independent of nominal Christianity. The spirit of Jesus is evident in

¹ Gal. iii. 28.

many homes where his name is not mentioned, and it is absent from many where that name is professed. The ideal, indeed, is seldom reached. Even where it is attained in the internal structure of the home, it is often lost in the case of the relation of the home to the larger community. "It may be said," writes Fremantle, "that the family has been definitively won for Christ, so far as Christian love is self-renouncing; but so far as Christian love is universal, it still needs the processes of redemption."¹ It is devotion to the family rather than to the narrower self which is the motive for the apparently selfish struggles in the world of business. Thus the combatants on the fields of the fiercest and most ruthlessly fought battles are commonly animated by a species of imperfect unselfishness.

It is not a part of our plan to make any extended analysis of contemporary history, in order to show how the spirit of Jesus has made itself felt in modern life. A few words only Nationalism. must suffice in addition to what has been said about the conquest of the family. The spirit has been influential in starting and giving character to national movements, which are among the important phenomena of these times. Only in Christendom is there to-day such a thing as a national life.²

¹ *The World as Subject of Redemption*, p. 308.

² A nation is a spiritual, a race, an animal organism. Outside of Christendom are races. In Christendom, the tendency, as yet imperfectly wrought out, is to nationalities.

The formation of our own nation can be distinctly traced to the Renaissance, and the consequent resurrection of the spirit of Christianity through the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures. The men who formed the nation were themselves formed by the Scriptures, so that it may almost be said that the spirit created this nation through the agency of its specific literature. The stimulus to the revival of nationalism in Europe has come largely either through the same set of causes, or less directly through the example of this nation. The movement for Irish renationalization, while it does not spring so obviously from the Bible, has been kept alive by enthusiasm borrowed from America, so that in a secondary way, at least, it is dependent even upon Scripture; and it is a safe prediction that before many years the Irish will take to the study of the sacred writings of Christendom, as the Italians have already done so determinedly that the papal power has been constrained to give it a tardy approval. It is the spirit rather than the letter of Christianity that contributes to patriotism. The early Christians were not patriots, and one of the true charges against them was that, while they made excellent soldiers or officials, they had no attachment to the government. There was the same reaction against patriotism that there was against the family. Yet the spirit of Christianity arrested both those reactions, and renewed both the family and the nation.

Instead of the revival of patriotism producing fiercer international antagonisms, as the thoughtless would predict, the growing sentiment ^{Internationalism.} is one in favor of peace and mutual interchange of benefits between nations. Wars have arisen from race rather than national antagonisms, or from the ambitions of the few working upon the animal instincts or passions of the many. In the nation mere animal passions are subordinate to spiritual motives, and the ambitious few must have more respect for the will of the many. It is less than a generation since the first international arbitration was attempted, in the face of universal skepticism. To-day it would be next to impossible to goad the English-speaking peoples into war with one another. The mightiest armaments the world has seen are held in check, no one daring to give the signal for conflict, lest he bring against himself the enemy he fears more than any armies or navies, — the peace sentiment of the world.

It is true that many considerations of a calculating selfishness have influence in favor of peace. But the data which turn the result of such calculations in that direction are more numerous and more weighty than they ever were, because of the operation of the spirit of Christianity. The spirit of brotherhood, generated by migration and by the help of the international workingmen's conventions and the socialist propaganda, is becoming so powerful among the millions who must recruit and sus-

tain these armies that the time seems not distant when they will decline to fight at the command of any leader. If they were to fight to-day, it would be in a merely mechanical way, and with no mutual hatred; and the strongest motive that would animate most of their officers would be scientific curiosity as to the working of recent inventions. No body of men ever entered upon a great enterprise with more promise of success than those who are to-day undertaking to formulate measures for universal arbitration. The people are coming to the front. The people are already under the sway of the spirit of brotherhood; and in proportion as their power grows will the will of that spirit be obeyed in national and international concerns.¹

We call politics corrupt; and it is, measured by ideals. But the ideal was never so high as it is to-

¹ "These armaments of all nations, these continual menaces, this resumption of race oppression, are evil signs, but not signs of bad augury. They are the last convulsions of what is going to disappear. The social body resembles the human body, the malady being only a violent effort of the organism to throw off a morbid and noxious element. These millions of armed men who are drilling every day in view of a war of general extermination have no hatred toward those they may be called upon to fight, and none of their leaders dare declare war. An agreement is inevitable within a given time, which will be shorter than we suppose. I do not know whether it is because I am not much longer for this life, and that the light from over the horizon already affects my vision, but I do believe that our world is about to witness the realization of the words, 'Love one another.'" Alexandre Dumas.

day. We have not fallen from a democracy to a plutocracy. We have not yet been an actual democracy, except temporarily in Politics. times of crisis. Even then it is a question whether it was the democracy so much as a spasm of virtue in the oligarchy that saved us. It is probable that we are more of a democracy than we ever were ; a plutocratic democracy, indeed, a democracy in which the many are ruled by the money motive and have their own poor way.¹ But that is a step forward. If men could be freed, even to do wrong, there is hope for them. The spirit of Christianity can do little until it has set men free. A man had better have a vote to waste or sell than to have no vote at all. Disfranchisement is a denial of manhood, and produces the meanest vices. The spirit of Christianity, which secures men the ballot, will not cease until it has taught them how to use it.

Concerning the right of the spirit of Jesus to make conquest of social and business relationships, the conscience of Christendom is quick-
 ened as it never was before. The church. The church is waking up to ask with a new seriousness whether she has not come near to apostasy because she has been so slow in insisting upon the application of the gospel to all spheres of life. Her official representatives and organs are somewhat disposed to resent the promptings of the spirit of penitence. But it is a rare thing in history for the official

¹ W. D. Howells, in *North Amer. Rev.*, February, 1894.

part of the church to be the living part of it. The church cannot do without its organization. But it creates and carries and uses this organization if it can, or rejects and renews it if it must: it is not created or carried or used or retarded, except temporarily, by the organization. The life of the church is not to be estimated by the saplessness of the dead wood with which it houses itself or makes its tools. That living minority, growing larger with each age, which is to create the church, and the world, too, of the future, is not infallible, has not kept pace with the demands upon it for the Christianization of social institutions; but it is not guilty of the fatal error of imagining itself infallible; it is penitent because of its failures, and is sincerely asking how it may atone for past neglect, and find the right path for the future. The fact that the church fears she is on the brink of apostasy is itself the work of the spirit, and is the best promise that she will turn back from that brink.

While in business relationships that partial selfishness which seeks the family rather than the general interest is still supreme, its supremacy is more in question. Moreover, common honesty is far less uncommon than it once was. The value of a salesman is less commonly reckoned in his ability to overreach, and more commonly in his ability to serve both seller and buyer. The seller, both at wholesale and retail,

Business.

finds it to his interest to be the best guardian of the interests of his customers. Fewer bargains are made over the wine-glass. The commercial traveler is the friend of his customers, and is trusted by them. The tradition that he is a hard case is destined to go the way of other traditions which have ceased to represent facts. Nowhere outside of Christendom do men trust one another in trade. Nowhere else can a child be sent to trade, or goods be safely ordered on sample. The spirit is making marked progress.

The apparent exceptions to this are accounted for. In new businesses, where standards have not had time to be fixed, unfair dealing is more likely to be found. A new kind Exceptions. of manufacturing business always shows a lower average of morals than an established one. That form of commercial transaction which pertains to the exchange of stocks and bonds, futures, options, and such like, rather than tangible and actually transferable wealth, is most backward in the development of the spirit of common honesty. The unscrupulousness and gambling, which once reigned in the actual goods market, now hold high revel in speculation. When this form of commerce shall have had time to be brought under regulative control, and instinctive honesty shall have come to have as fair a field in it as instinctive and often self-deceptive dishonesty now has, a change will appear. The men engaged in it are generally above suspi-

cion in other walks of life, and when dealing with tangible wealth. The nature of the transactions, rather than the characters of the men, removes this department of business from the sphere of influence of the Christian spirit.

For much the same reasons the industrial relationship is still backward in the manifestation of the spirit of Christianity. The growth of the Christian spirit of manly independence among employees has put an end generally to the old relationship of patron and client, in which the employer offset tyranny and underpay by charitable aid; a relationship which was a legacy from the days of chattel slavery or serfdom.¹ The employee is disposed to resent the substitution of charity for justice, and the employer in turn to resent this resentment and call it ingratitude. He thus often gets out of touch with his help, and thinks ill of human nature, because he is no longer thanked for bestowing with one hand what with the other he has taken — taken, it

¹ The absence of high standards of honesty in the real estate business also grows out of the fact that the systems of land-holding which are intrenched in law and custom had their origin in feudalism, and have been evolved with no regard to moral property rights, and only incidentally conform to such rights, when they do so at all. When the emancipation of land shall have been added to that of men and of women, this antinomianism in real estate matters will come to an end. The work of the spirit of right human relationships in this sphere may have to be destructive before it can be constructive, but it will surely accomplish its ends.

is true, without any realizing sense of its injustice, since he happens to have custom and law on his side. Some pursue the old precedent of injustice, and cease to offer charity. Others, and their number is increasing, attempt to do the fair thing, so far as permitted by the tyrannous conditions under which they themselves live and work. On the other hand, the employee is continually tempted to carry his suspicions of injustice to an extreme, and to assert his independence with great unwisdom. The case is bad, and the worst crisis has not yet come. Yet it is a good thing that the old relationship could not endure, and it was the operation of the spirit of Christianity that brought it to an end. It is certain yet to yield the peaceable fruit of right relationship.

Another thing which has brought new and difficult problems with it is the unprecedented growth of corporations. These have been made necessary by the changed conditions ^{Corporations.} brought in by the material inventions and discoveries of this last century. These corporations give us stockholderism, which is a species of absenteeism, especially liable to moral irresponsibility and cruelty. But the corporation, as the creation of the people, with special privileges of limited responsibility, should be correspondingly limited in its liberties. When the public realizes, as it is now being compelled to realize, that it has more rights and responsibilities for control in the

case of corporations than in that of individuals, it will be found that the corporation will become the best employer, because it will be in a large sense the agent of the public. The very permission to incorporate is a public franchise. The public is, therefore, a partner in every corporation, and entitled to know its secrets and share in its management. The sense of this is being quickened, and the new social spirit is leading society to claim its own. Where that spirit cannot rule it strives. Where it cannot bring peace it brings a sword. Its final victory is certain. The creative spirit will breathe the breath of life into corporations, and they will become living souls.

In literature the spirit of Jesus exerts a wider and more powerful influence than it has ever had since the formation of the sacred canon ;
Literature. and whereas that was intensive and specialized, this is extensive and generalized. Even the realism that is in some respects so scandalous is one expression of the spirit which counts nothing common or unclean which pertains to human nature ; and the idealism which judges it does so on the score that it is itself the truest realism. The spirit is taking possession of learning. The passion for verifiable truth is one manifestation of the spirit which saved Hebrew life from the mythological extravagances of its contemporaries, which kept Jesus from pretending to make any revelations concerning the future or

the unseen which were not founded upon data as accessible to all as to himself, which prevented the apostolic writers from giving way to grotesque fancies. The saneness of that spirit was enough akin to the scientific spirit among the Greeks, so that the two brought forth results in affiliation. The motives were different. The Greek sought truth. The Christian was more ethical, and sought the right. Yet they could pursue together, and the moral enthusiasm of the Christian spirit carried forward the application of the Greek scientific method.

Unfortunately the scientific spirit had to do battle for its rights with nominal Christianity, and even to find its best agents for a time among the followers of Mohammed. ^{Science.}

But Mohammedanism, it is to be remembered, especially in that hostility to mythology and idolatry which cleared the way for science, was an outgrowth of Hebraism and Christianity, and was in some respects more Christian than the Christendom of its day. In so far as the representatives of nominal Christianity were mistaken in their conflict with the scientific spirit, they have been defeated. In so far as they were in the right in holding the pursuit of truth a means of service, they are being vindicated. A dozen years ago educational institutions might have been divided between those who encouraged learning for its own sake, and those who sought it as a

means of establishing foregone conclusions, which it was supposed the good of men required establishing. To-day, foregone conclusions go a-begging for supporters in Christian institutions. On the other hand, truth-seekers no longer keep full peace with their own consciences unless they recognize some obligation to impart truth, or to use it as a means for the service of their fellows.¹ On one side is a larger faith in the inherent healthfulness of truth; on the other a deeper regard for humanity. No chairs are being founded to-day to discuss the relations of sacred and secular truth. There is no longer any question as to their relations; the distinction between them has vanished.

The most important, perhaps, of all the creations of the spirit of Jesus we have passed by.

The sacred literature. For the same reasons that the Hebrew sacred literature merited a separate consideration, that of Christianity should also be treated apart from the other phenomena of the spirit of Jesus. By universal consent the New Testament writings are esteemed worthy to stand as the superstructure to the foundation laid in the Old. The unity of this Christian sacred literature is found in its centring about the person and being infused with the spirit of Jesus. No one

¹ Science is in far less danger to-day from religious *a-priori*-ism, than from the desertion of the fields of pure truth-seeking for hasty application of scientific results to those services which promise commercial rewards.

of the miscellaneous bits of writing which have found their way into it is without these marks.¹ The New Testament literature is indeed an incident, in that no man dreamed of producing a body of writings which should rank with those of the Old Testament. Paul's epistles were business letters; even that to the Romans, which came nearest to a treatise, being still a letter with immediate practical aims. It was only by accident that they were preserved. The Gospels and Acts had more the character of books, but they were for contemporary rather than for far future readers.

The theory which gets rid of the fortuitous in the formation of this literature by the idea of an overruling Providence is not one which can here be adopted, because, however true the theory may be, the "Providence" which it postulates does not belong in the category of genetic causes, and is not therefore the object of scientific perception. Instead of a providential interposition, however,

Neither fortuitous nor providential, but of the spirit.

¹ The most insignificant of them perhaps, the third epistle of John, does not mention Jesus. Yet it uses the expression "For His name's sake" in such a way as to indicate the supremacy of that name in the writer's interest; and the spirit of Jesus breathes through the whole letter. Whatever may be thought of the authenticity of Jude and 2 Peter, it cannot be denied that they bear this mark. Even rabbinism, which was in general such a foe to spirituality, and which finds so large a place in James and Hebrews, and even creeps into Paul's writings, is there thoroughly mastered to spiritual uses.

we may fully account for this literature by the creative, selective, and preservative action of the spirit of Jesus. This spirit, while it belongs to the world of phenomenal cause and effect, operates, like every life force, as a species of providence. It is to be remembered that Jesus anticipated the intervention, not of a providential but of a spiritual cause to produce some sort of result like this : ¹ precisely what result he doubtless did not himself foresee.

The sufficiency of the New Testament Scriptures for the end which they serve in history and in individual experience is vindicated Sufficiency of the spirit. when it is understood that the action of the spirit is not directed to the preservation of all the material for a complete biography of Jesus or a history of the beginnings of Christianity. What this literature does is so to embody and transmit spiritual potencies and the spiritual likeness of Jesus that future ages never fail of a literary source for a renewal of spiritual energies or a correction of ideals. For this purpose too much literature would be as bad as too little. An unwieldy mass of writings would weigh down the Christian movement like Saul's armor. "The sword of the spirit" ² must not be too heavy to swing. For the use which it serves the New Testament literature is abundant. To fulfill its spirit Christianity must be a popular, not an esoteric

¹ John xiv. 26.

² Eph. vi. 17.

movement; it must belong to the many, and not only to the few, the learned. To have overloaded it, as Confucianism was overloaded, with canonical literature, would have been to defeat that purpose, though all of it had been indited by the spirit. It would have been too much of a good thing.

The continuity between the Old and the New Testaments, constituting them practically one body of literature, should here be remarked. Old and New Testaments. While the Bible does not possess the character of a single book, as thoughtless zealots sometimes imagine, it is on the other hand no mere collection containing some of the more important literary "remains" of the Hebrews and early Christians, as others might say. Nor is its unity simply that of its grouping about the common subject of the messianic hope and its fulfillment. There is a continuity, both historical and literary. Not only does the same course of history run through both, but the Old Testament itself was the agent which formed a good deal of the history which gave rise to the New. The whole literature rests solidly upon a series of historical events, sending its roots down into history and drawing up inspiration therefrom. It makes and is made by history. The literary continuity is somewhat as though a series of writers passed along the torch of literary inspiration from one to another down the ages. There is a sort of contagious literary

atmosphere from one end of the Bible to the other. This becomes the more apparent the nearer we arrive at a true chronological order for these writings. The later writers wrote, and wrote in the way they did, partly because their predecessors wrote, and wrote in the way they did. So marked is this literary continuity, and so strong is the unity it has produced, that it has not been so difficult as it otherwise might have been to make a plausible pretense of calling it one book. The language and literary tone and force of the Old saturated the writers of the New, and largely determined its literary quality. The translation of the Seventy was the connecting link through which the Hebrew thought learned to make an effective use of the Greek tongue ; and thus, though in two languages, the Bible is one literature.

But the Bible is one literature for the same reason that Hebrew and Christian history are one :
Spiritual
continuity. because they are caused by the action of the same spirit. The Old Testament was, as has been seen, created by that spirit. The Greek translation of it was instigated by that spirit.¹ The Christ was born and nurtured through the spirit, and lived his life under its guidance, and could not be understood until that spirit was poured out upon his disciples ; the historical Christian movement only began after that event, and

¹ No other literature has ever exhibited such a power to secure its own translation.

could not have begun but for it; the occasions for writing the New Testament books were brought about directly or indirectly by that spirit; and the writers when they wrote, the redactors when they revised or edited, the compilers when they compiled, the people when they demanded, and the canonizers when they selected and rejected, were all under the influence of that spirit. The Bible is preëminently the product of the Hebrew and Christian spirit, the spirit of him who is called the Christ.

In whatever other ways besides its remarkable unity the Bible is superior to or distinguished from other literatures, it is also for these indebted to the same spirit. Its moral Moral tone. superiority to the other literatures does not consist in a strained mechanical infallibility. Its moral maxims may be matched from Confucius or the Talmud. Its writers do not always maintain the absolute moral standard, but vary downward from it toward the standard of their times. The moral issues of slavery and polygamy, modern forms of intemperance and gambling, and the problems connected with complex political and industrial life, are not adequately met. Considered as a prose document, to be legally construed, the Bible is unequivocal upon scarcely any point of morals; and has been and is likely again to be quoted upon the wrong side. So long as it is supposed to be the repository of a complete code of morals, it is an

arsenal of proof texts for that class of reactionaries who resist moral reform and blockade moral progress. Yet as a moral agent the Bible has been without a rival, because in it is the spirit of perfect moral relationships. Its specific moral maxims have their value in the fact that they are cast in such form as to be vehicles for the transmission of that spirit.

As regards the reliability or accuracy of the Bible in history or science, the case is precisely the same. It is foolish to think to surrender the inerrancy of Scripture in this respect, and still cling to it in respect to moral and religious matters. The two cannot be so separated. In both cases the Bible is to be judged in comparison with its contemporaries, and by its spirit and the success of that spirit in affecting the matter and in making the literature an instrument for its further aims. As to the relation of Scripture to history and science, the remarkable thing is that it is so little at odds with them as it is. No other set of ancient writings could have stood the test of attempted harmonization as it has done without losing all dignity. The Scripture shows in these departments not so much less ignorance as less error than its contemporaries. Its writers do not know so much more than the others, but, as the humorist says, they know less that is not so. The Scripture is not overloaded with masses of incongruous details, the product of a riotous and super-

Spirit of
accuracy.

stitious imagination rather than of observation. It avoids glaring and grotesque blunders. It is the most fruitful of ancient literatures in reliable data for history. No other literature sends down such strong, thick taproots into the soil of history; and where other means of verification are wanting, these roots themselves testify to the depth and quality of the material into which they once struck. Truth is as much greater than accuracy as poetry is greater than proof-reading. For its age the Bible is exceptionally accurate. It is still more exceptionally truthful: and this it owes to that spirit which is rightly characterized as "the spirit of truth."

The Bible, however, is far more than an effect of the operation of the spirit. It is full of the power of the spirit, which flows from it as from an infallible reservoir. Unlike Filled with the spirit. the scribes, it needs no credentials, but speaks with authority inherent. It can be let alone to do its own work. The missionaries in Madagascar, seeing the cloud of persecution lowering, hurriedly translated the Scriptures; and though they were murdered or expelled, the Bible Christianized Madagascar. If it be sown broadcast over the earth, a harvest is assured; and it has the power to get itself sown broadcast. Next to the Bible itself, perhaps the most remarkable literary phenomenon in the world is that of its crowding itself into all languages, even where it has to invent an alphabet

and grammar, creating literatures where none before existed, and thereby bringing a historical life to many tribes that appear to have never before had any other than that natural history which belongs to them in common with other animals. The Bible is a conquering and creating power; and it is the spirit of it which gives it this power.

The Bible has been one of the chief actors in many of the world's most important historical movements. As the Old Testament had much to do with the completion of Hebrew history and the bringing in of the Messiah, so the whole Bible has functioned as an imperial power in subsequent history. A revival of straightforwardness and reality, as against hypocrisy and fraud, has always been connected in some way with a translation or other rehabilitation of the Scripture; and then this newly won Bible, and the men who owed their strength and stimulus to it, led the forces of reform. All of those revolutions in which the Bible played an important part were the uprisings of strength and truthfulness and freedom, against unreality and enthroned falsehood and emptiness. This was true of the attempted Polish and Bohemian reformations, of the Wickliffian movement, and the Huguenot and the Lutheran. It was true of the Genevans and Scotch Covenanters and English Puritans. It is true of the effort to-day to emancipate the Bible from the bondage of dogma. Whatever criticism may be passed upon

The Bible as
a force.

any one or all of these movements, or upon the men who led them, they were worldmakers, and the Bible was the source of their strength.

The specific work of the Bible as an historical factor has been to reproduce, in other and later circumstances, courses of history having the same fundamental characteristics as ^{Reproduction.} those with which its own production was first associated, to put the same creative spirit into history. Thus the several marks which distinguish that original history, in so far as they were caused by that spirit, also distinguish these movements. They have been popular and human. Their springs have been in the common life of the people, and they have looked to the betterment of that life. Moreover, they have been heroic, both in the nature of their achievements and in the characters of the leaders they have raised up for themselves from among the people. They have not been sporadic, unrelated to other courses of history before and after them. They have been, like the Bible history itself, parts of the organic and progressive history of redemption. With all their lesser aims and heroes, they converge toward one aim and one Hero.

So important a place has the Bible held in the higher movements of modern life that it is not strange that the regard for it should sometimes be almost superstitious, or ^{Bibliolatry.} that it should appear to many to be the sole chan-

nel through which the spiritual force of Christianity flows. Such a belief has in it at least the truth that literature is fitted to hold a transcendently important place in human life. If ever the time is to come when the corporate mind shall be a concrete thing, a reality instead of an abstraction or generalization, when the *Logos* or Articulate Reason shall have become incarnate, there must be two chief modes of its manifestation; and it is a question whether the one mode be not as essential as the other. One of these is an individual man, and the other is a literature. If Jesus be entitled to the name of the Christ, the Word, that is, if his reason was the *Logos*, the supreme reason, common to God and man, and if he was at the same time an historical personage, subject to the necessary limitations of a genuine manhood, then that *Logos* could not so far universalize itself in him as to be entitled to the name of the Eternal Word, until it had found its incarnation also in something more than an individual man, in something in which the limitations of the individual are transcended, and he becomes an element in the world mind. That something is literature. Upon the basis, therefore, of the newest science of mind, it may be assumed as a psychological necessity that the incarnate *Logos* must be embodied in a literature as well as in a person.

Moreover, in the light of the part which the written word has played in the history of Christen-

dom, it is hard to imagine how the personality of Jesus could exercise the sway it does to-day if it had not had a literary embodiment at least as nearly corresponding to its personal perfection as its physical embodiment ever was. The Christ of the text-books may be a metaphysical figment. But the Jesus who is worshiped by the people is a literary personage if he is nothing else. They are not so far wrong, therefore, who speak of the Scripture as the "Word of God" in a sense nearly synonymous with that in which they apply that term to Jesus. It is a large truth which is perverted by the bibliolater. The spirit needs a letter. The revolt against literalism overreaches itself when it is too anxious to break down the letter in order to escape its bondage. The science of physical forces began to make progress only after it had become an axiom that these forces were modes of motion *of* something, and that their material embodiment was coextensive and coterminous with themselves. The science of biology was held back many years because it was thought blasphemous to teach that the physical basis of life is complete, that all life is something living. The science of pneumatology, if the term may be allowed, must equally insist upon a complete material, or literal, basis for its spiritual phenomena.¹ There is no such thing as a disembodied

Spirit and
letter.

¹ Locke's tenet, "Nihil est in intellectu quod non simul sit in sensu," might be paralleled thus: "Nihil est in spiritu quod non simul sit in litera."

spirit of patriotism, existing without patriotic acts, or men, or laws, or literature, or something. If the spirit of Jesus be a real fact among facts, there must be, besides other embodiments, a literature of it. And there must be literature enough; the literal basis of the spirit must be commensurate with the spirit itself. If the Bible be, as is so generally contended, an infallible, that is, inexhaustible, source of spiritual power, the secret of its infallibility may well be sought, not in anything mystical or magical, but in the actual detailed facts concerning its books, sentences, phrases, words, and even roots of words. Language is rich enough in garnered suggestiveness, the heritage of history, to furnish a material or literary basis for any spirit which can operate effectively in human experience.¹

In the presumption that the literal and the spiritual are coextensive in Scripture is the apology for the dogma of plenary inspiration, which finds its most satisfactory form in the Lutheran teaching that the written word is itself, for its purpose, a sufficient instrument of a spiritual power inherent in it. The superiority of this over later Protestant statements is that while they are meant to affirm more, they actually affirm less, in that they rest their emphasis upon the idea that the Scripture is an *effect* of spiritual power; and by stopping there, or by introducing the notion of an extramundane agency coöperating with the

Plenary
inspiration.

¹ See Max Müller, *Science of Thought*.

Scripture, using it as an instrument, they leave the impression that it is a mere inert effect. The Lutheran teaching, on the other hand, is, that it is not only an effect but a reservoir of spiritual power, needing no extramundane assistance to enable it to do its work.

Such recognition of the plenary power of Scripture as an embodiment of the spirit of Christianity is the warrant for the concentration upon it both of religious interest and of Importance of Scripture. all the resources of scholarship and culture. Were the Bible merely an inert or passive product of spiritual activity, such interest might pall or exhaust itself. Were it less fully commensurate with its own spirit, the emphasis laid upon it might be overdone. So far, however, it has repaid all the labor and justified all the rational faith which have been expended upon it. The apostolic age would have failed had it not produced such a literature. It might have succeeded if it had done nothing else. Modern civilization could recover from the loss of everything else which the Hebrew and Christian spirit has done for it. It could not survive the loss of the classic literature of that spirit. This consideration, however, need cause no dread; for that literature is the most impregnable fact in the world. Its loss is inconceivable.

A good part of the aim of these lectures has been secured if they have succeeded in evoking the power of spiritual discernment and leading it

to perceive this spirit as a part of the phenomenal world, especially of that more important side of it which pertains to human society and development. Before leaving this part of the subject, however, it will be worth while to rehearse again the main characteristics of spirits of the phenomenal type, and observe how closely this adheres to that type. To say that it is a phenomenon is not to deny that it may be more than that. It is simply to affirm that it is at least that, and hence that it is a proper object of investigation of phenomenal science, that it can be coördinated with other phenomena, that its causal action belongs to the general category of cause, and that its presence and potencies in no way interfere with the historical continuities. It therefore comes within the range of scientific research to precisely the same extent that the personality of Jesus comes within that range. If scientific and critical study of the life of Jesus has added to the knowledge of him anything of value, likewise a purely scientific and critical study of this spirit ought to be of value.

In treating it as a pure phenomenon we have endeavored to avoid the error of regarding it as an abstraction. It is a fact as objective as is the person of Jesus. It is not a quality of Hebrew life, or of Jesus, or of Christianity. It is a force operating in and proceeding from them, as heat from a stove or light from a lamp; and it is a different

thing from them, as heat is a different thing from the stove and light from the lamp. It is imparted from person to person, from person to book, from book to person, from person or book to nation and backwards again : its embodiments and manifestations are innumerable, but it is in its own proper and real sense distinct from them all. Yet it is never so distinct from them but that it is dependent upon them. There is no more of the Christian spirit in the world than there is of the Christ. As life is a living thing, as fire is a burning thing, so spirit is a spiritual thing.

This spirit is a manifestation of the relations of personalities. It has to do with things other than persons only so far as these things are the instruments of the interrelations of persons. Whatever pertains to persons therefore pertains to it. If the boundaries of personalities be vague, so are the boundaries of this spirit. It is not always easy to distinguish the spirit of Christianity from mere animal spirits, the fruits of good digestion or sanguine temperament. And as personality is but vaguely determined on the side toward the brutes, so it is not limited upward toward possible personalities in the unseen, of whose existence one may have guesses without being able to surmise as to their nature. And as this spirit ministers to the normal interplay, not only between persons, but between persons and things or sub-persons, it also ministers to the guidance of persons in their atti-

tude toward the lowering or smiling firmament of the unknown. That is to say, it creates or modifies not only man's animal and other material relationships, but also his religious attitudes.

It is a social force. It exalts the individual that he may be a better unit for society. It controls society that it may be a better environment for the individual. As the spirit which characterized and proceeded from the normal man, it is the spirit of normal social relationships, and appears to be destined to establish and universalize such relationships. It will do this, not by bringing persons to a dead uniformity, but rather by developing exceptional individuality, in truth, by so fostering individuality that there can be no one who is not exceptional. It is of such units only that the perfect society can be made. When, reasoning from the character and history of this spirit, we seek to learn what promise is contained in it as the ruling element or force in the world, the answer is "the perfection of personality and of personal relationships, and the subordination of everything else to that end."

VI.

THE end of the operation of the Christian spirit, the spirit of Jesus, will be the establishment of perfect personality, involving perfect personal relationships of all kinds. The human person holds three classes of relationships: that toward nature, the physical; that toward other men, the social; and that toward the unseen world, concerning which it is impossible to know in the same way as regards the others whether it is most nearly a physical or most nearly a personal relationship. This relationship to the unseen world, if it be personal, is the religious relationship.

The goal of
the spiritual
movement.

The Hebrew spirit entered into history as a social, or, as it is more generally called, an ethical force. It concerned itself with conduct, which, as Matthew Arnold used to love to iterate, is three fourths of life. It demanded that this three-fourth interest, as it were, should dominate, and that the relation to nature and to the unseen should be determined by it, that the social relationships should rule both the physical and the religious. This was no usurpation in the sphere of the religious, for it had to reform religious atti-

The spirit a
moral force.

tudes, which had themselves actually been determined neither by social nor religious, but by physical or animal considerations, or by social conditions which themselves were so determined. It was the interest of conduct rather than of truth that banished mythology from nature, and condemned witchcraft and necromancy, and ignored the pseudo-sciences, and taught the best Hebrew mind to look upon nature as a mechanism undistracted by the caprices of personalities. The desire for wholesome human relationships brought about an exceptionally wholesome attitude toward nature. The Hebrew spirit, being one of normal personal relationships, produced an instinct of purity which looked upon the intercourse of human persons with demi-gods, or with those who had passed out of the sphere of the visible, as uncanny and unclean.¹ It was felt that man was in no sense the companion of nature, or of those parts of it which had not risen to the personal plane. He was its lord, and his proper companionship was only with his own species, and sin came in when he held converse or

¹ The mythological gods were monsters growing out of primitive chaos, and hence part of nature itself. There is no reason to think that the beings called "sons of God," in Gen. vi. 2, were thought of as different from them. The serpent of Eden was probably a mere animal divinity or jinn. The Hebrew God was conceived of as in a wholly different category, like Plato's God. In this sense Philo was right when he identified the thought of Plato and Moses. Only Plato was ruled by the truth-seeking and Moses by the right-seeking spirit; one was scientific, the other ethical, and they reached much the same goal.

commerce with the lower animals or with demigods. The Hebrew attitude toward nature, so much like that of modern science, was produced by the sense of the fundamental importance and rightful supremacy of human personality, and the value of human relationships, to which nature was to minister. Thus it was the social spirit which determined it, declaring that the known universe belonged to man and not man to it. Buckle classifies humanity into the European and the Asiatic. In Europe, he says, man has power over nature; in Asia nature has power over man. The Hebrew spirit of lordship over nature developed in Asia as a protest against the prevailing tendency, and through Christianity it has secured to the European man his ascendancy.

But the same spirit limited itself in its affirmation of the superiority of man. Man could become lord of nature, but not of the Power behind nature, from which both man and nature came. For it cannot be denied that man is a derived and dependent being; and to have depersonified wholly the non-human would have been to give to man an impersonal origin, like the mythological gods, and to make him dependent upon an impersonal power from which he came and to which he must return. This the Hebrew spirit could not tolerate, because it was inconsistent with the dignity and importance attributed to human personality. It therefore wrought out the thought

A religious
force.

of one God, whose nature was, like man's,¹ personal and capable of personal relationships, who was the author of nature and of man, and who had ordained nature for man's use. Whatever other gods might exist had no proper relations with men, and their worship was a species of uncleanness. Thus it was the spirit which exalted personality, and personal relationships which produced Hebrew henotheism,² and then further evolved it into monotheism. There came to be for them³ but one God, the almighty and immutable creator of all things visible and invisible, between whom and man nature was a mere medium of intercourse, itself only an inert and unconscious thing. While on one hand nature was wholly depersonified, on the other hand it was made the organ for the expression of a supreme ideal personality. Without any knowledge of or any interest in physical science, prompted only by the spirit of the right human relationships, the Hebrew came to hold an attitude toward nature which cannot be impugned by science; for it is not the one immutable God⁴ of the Hebrews which science quarrels with, but conflicting gods, or one God who is fickle and overturns his own plans.

¹ Anthropomorphism was justified, since the alternative was to think God as less noble than man, against which the social interest would protest. See Piepenbring, *Theology of Old Testament*, pp. 96-99.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 92-96.

³ 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

⁴ Moral immutability seems to have been the fundamental attribute of Jehovah. Piepenbring, *Theol. of O. T.*, pp. 101, 102.

The characteristic thing in the Hebrew literature is not that there are a few instances where the principle of divine transcendence and natural uniformity is not consistently carried out, but that there are so few. It is in this ^{Miracles.} that the influence of the spirit is shown. Moreover the cases in which the best of that literature permits the occurrences of interventions is where some national crisis or the appearance of some great personality gives it a plausible excuse in the social interest. The sacred writers would not have objected on scientific or philosophical grounds to any number of miracles. Yet as a matter of fact the only point at which any considerable number of them are recorded in the Scriptures is in connection with the personality of Jesus. It is in accordance with the emphasis which is placed upon personality, and especially upon a personality which stands at the head of the race, that he should have a greater mastery over nature than others. It is a trite observation that the miracles of Jesus all have an ethical motive. They, therefore, if any, would come under that law of the Hebrew spirit which declares the supreme importance of human interests and the subordination of nature.

Yet here the question will be asked whether it is ethically good that Jesus should master nature, even for the benefit of others, by disobeying laws which all other men have to reach their ends by discovering and

<sup>Spiritual
mastery of
Jesus.</sup>

heeding. The spirit seems to have taken that also into account; for, on his own witness, he, guided by the spirit,¹ declined to found his kingdom upon any such mastery, and deprecated the disposition of men to make his miracles the basis of belief in him; while the best attested of these miracles, those of the cure of the demoniacs and of diseases which have a nervous or psychical origin, are explained by the power of a strong and sympathetic personality to touch in such cases the secret springs of natural causation. It was the mastery which Jesus had in the realm of spirit, that is of personal relationships and character, which gave him his chief wonder-working power. While he himself seemed to be unaware of a limit to his power to work miracles, except his own choice, and, significantly, in some cases the faith of the subjects, yet he was withheld from the mistake of unduly testing that power because he was so unerringly guided by the spirit. It was not because he thought he could not, but because he thought he ought not, that he did not go further in the attempt to interfere with nature. The social spirit produced a sanity very similar to that which might have been produced by the scientific spirit. When men come to be guided as unerringly as was Jesus by the spirit of right human relationships, they will come to act much as he did toward nature. Moved by pity and

¹ Matt. iv. 1; Mark i. 12; Luke iv. 1.

love, they will make otherwise impossible conquests over nature. This is the spirit which so continually prompts physicians and nurses to almost superhuman efforts or risks or endurances. "Greater works than these shall he do," said Jesus, "because I go to my Father,"¹ that is, "because I leave men to the guidance and stimulus of my spirit."

It is not to be overlooked that a great part of the scientific conquest of nature has found its incentives in the Christian spirit. In the progress of medicine and surgery the Science and the spirit. spirit of pure science has doubtless often prevailed, as well as that of worldly ambition or avarice at times; yet even here comparatively little would have been accomplished but for the pressure of demand upon these sciences by the spirit of human affection.² Most persons employ a physician more quickly for those they love than for themselves; while the founding and support of hospitals, which have contributed so much to the advancement of scientific healing, is very notably a work of the Christian spirit. Foremost among explorers and pioneers have always been

¹ John xiv. 12.

² "It is not mind, except within the narrow limits of this definition, that achieves the vast results which civilization presents, and which, it must be admitted, could not be achieved without it. It is the great social forces which we have been passing in review that have accomplished all this." Lester Ward, *Dynamical Sociology*, vol. i., p. 698.

missionaries, and they have contributed largely to geography, geology, meteorology, archaeology, philology, ethnography, in fact to all the sciences.¹ Important among explorers and pioneers also is the home-seeker who is animated by the Christian spirit. In the pursuance of the social rather than the scientific aim the Hebrew and Christian spirit tended to turn away from mythology and to seek pure knowledge, because it was found to be more effective for purposes of mastery over nature. While it has thus made knowledge a means rather than an end, and hence cannot be called scientific, it has served the cause of science by bringing man into a wholesome attitude toward nature, by making science a trained servant.

Where it is plain that science is a servant, that it is better suited than anything else for the furtherance of ends sought by the generous instincts, prejudice against it gives way. Persons will unite in the support of a hospital where the strictest scientific methods are applied, and will insist upon such methods; yet these same persons will not support a school where scientific methods are used in the study of the Bible, until it becomes evident to them that these methods will serve better than others the social aims which they cherish, usually aims that have to do with the supposed good of their children. That the scientific spirit should be subor-

Knowledge
the servant
of love.

¹ See *Missions and Science*, Thomas Laurie.

dinate to the social, that knowledge should be sought for other than its own sake, is regarded by the scientific man as a most dangerous doctrine. Yet, dangerous or not, "truth for love's sake" is the law of the spirit of Christianity. He who is thoroughly swayed by that spirit will seek truth and avoid error as earnestly and as skillfully as though he sought truth for its own sake. He will have a supreme faith in truth as more wholesome than error. He will discern indeed that error is deadly. Nominal Christianity has gone wrong in this respect less for want of love of truth than for want of faith in it. It has been afraid of truth, has thought it safer at times to follow error and do untruth that good might come. It has also gone astray through an excess of zeal for particular statements of truth, "The Truth," as it has been called. The lapses into superstition and mythology and obscurantism, however, have been in spite of rather than because of the spirit of Christianity. It may usually be questioned whether these evils would not have been far worse had Christianity had nothing to do with the eras when they prevailed. On the whole, humanitarianism has gone hand in hand with intelligence and with the encouragement of true learning.¹

¹ Out of the difficulty of finding a right adjustment in this matter grew that sad controversy between Charles Kingsley and Father Newman, in the course of which the former accused the latter of want of sincerity, saying that "Truth for its own sake had never been a virtue of the Roman clergy. Father Newman

In banishing mythology and outlawing necromancy, the Hebrew spirit went none too far. Yet

Immortal- here again, as in the depersonifying of
ity. nature, there was a limit. Wholly to

informs us that it need not be, and on the whole ought not to be." The inference was that Newman justified the tolerance or fostering of error or the use of prevarication, the sin which is expressed to the Protestant mind in the term "Jesuitism." All the world loves Kingsley, and refuses to think that he was not the sincerer and completer man of the two. His indignation against what he honestly believed to be the course of Newman was righteous and noble. Yet Newman was logically right in saying that truth for its own sake ought not to be the distinctive virtue of the Roman or any other clergy. The clergy exist not primarily for scientific but for redemptive purposes. To them truth is "in order to salvation." Dangerous indeed is such a principle. Error is liable to be protected by it or truth postponed "in order to salvation;" and salvation is liable to become identified with the interests of the church or the society of Loyola, and truth made the servant of these. Now truth cannot be made the servant of any institution, of church or state or family. The only thing more sacred or more powerful than truth is love, not as represented in any institution, but as represented in the spirit of divine sonship and human brotherhood. Newman failed to see that, as very many men to-day outside the Roman communion fail as utterly to see it. Kingsley, royal lover as he was, while he did valiant battle for "truth for truth's sake," himself has fallen under condemnation of his own descendants for having, as the charge was, loved his faith and his children so much that he taught them that faith after it had lost its hold upon his own reason. It is a bitter arraignment, and certainly unjust as well as unfilial. At the most, Kingsley had lost sight of the foundations. He had never been convinced of their non-existence. The spirit of right human relationships held him faithful to that which he could not scientifically verify. It was an unconscious application of Newman's dangerous but necessary principle.

ignore the hope of immortality was, even from its own point of view, an extreme; for was not this hope founded upon an assertion of the value of personality and the inherent sacredness and permanence of the personal relationships? The taboo, however, placed upon this doctrine in the earlier Hebrew history is abundantly justified as a practical measure. The hope had been debauched, and, instead of resting upon and ministering to sound personal characteristics and relationships, was but the pander to vicious animal tendencies or the instrument of intimidation in the hand of priestcraft. Man needed to be ethicalized and socialized in his tangible character and relationships before the imagination could be trusted in the realm of faith. For one thing, it was necessary to establish the principle that it is a realm of pure faith, not of knowledge, that the dead do not, so far as can be known, come and go or send communications between that realm and this.

True to its character as ethical rather than scientific, the Hebrew spirit stamped such intercommunication as unwholesome rather than unreal, and forbade it as it had forbidden polytheism, as a species of impurity. It is probable that the Hebrews never came to think of it as unreal, as indeed it is questionable whether many of them ever became thorough-going monotheists, or gave up a lurking notion that the

Spiritual
purity.

heathen gods had some sort of demoniac existence at least.¹ But the brand of uncleanness was put upon polytheism and intercourse with the dead, and thus for practical purposes the doors of intercommunication between the two worlds were closed. Jesus never denied the possibility of such intercourse, yet he did not engage in it.²

It is a remarkable fact that to-day the attitude of Christendom toward the question of intercourse with the dead is one of disapproval rather than of very positive denial. The feeling of incredulity is less obvious than that of uncanniness; and the air of uncleanness about spiritism and theosophism has had more than anything else to do with limiting their spread. The work of a scientific commission, a few years ago, proving the dishonesty of leading mediums and the fraudulent character of their alleged communications from the other world, produced scarcely a ripple of effect.³ About all that science can do is to verify the suggestions of the wholesome Christian spirit, which looks upon such things with something of the disfavor it does upon information secured by eavesdropping or

¹ 1 Cor. x. 20.

² The transfiguration and resurrection phenomena appear to contradict this statement. They belong, however, in a category by themselves. The former would lose nothing of its significance if it were explained on psychological grounds. Yet concerning it Jesus desired silence. The resurrection appearances were asserted to differ wholly from those of an ordinary ghost,— and they came to a summary end.

³ See *Report of the Seybert Commission*.

secrets extorted by priestcraft. In the warfare against superstition, the scientific is on the whole less effective than the social spirit. This last acts upon the rule that the world is better off, human character and relationships are better off, for letting such things alone. Whether they are real or unreal, they are anti-social.

While the motive of the Christian spirit in forbidding rather than denying the reality of intercourse with the inhabitants of the unseen world is because it is a social rather than a scientific spirit, yet perhaps it comes as near the truth as that science which is so unscientific as to venture a universal negative. In this, however, it is still true to its social character. For, being the spirit it is, it establishes such relationships between persons that it cannot without self-annihilation let go the hope and faith that such relationships shall be independent of the circumstance of death, which appears to belong to the purely physical order. The Christian spirit is not content with affirming brotherhood, a common origin and nature. It uses this as a basis only, out of which to develop a community of end.

The supreme spiritual relationship.

Perhaps the term which most nearly describes the highest fruitage of the social spirit is friendship, "the master passion," as it has been called.¹ Friendship is that purely disin-

Friendship.

¹ Trumbull, *The Master Passion*.

the soil of other relationships, but which transcends them all. It is so much more easily observed in those whose other interests do not coincide that it is sometimes thought not to exist elsewhere. Yet it is probable that by far the greater share of friendship in the world exists in family relationships, where it is so interwoven with other interests that it cannot be isolated for examination. As only small quantities of aluminium have been reduced to the metallic state, although it forms a large proportion of the substance of common clays and slates; so, while friendship unalloyed is exceptional, a great part of healthy common life is made up of it in combination. It is the one purely spiritual relationship.

Friendship has played a great part in history. But for the friendship of David and Jonathan, Hebrew history could never have flowed in the channels it did. But for the friendship of Alexander and Hephaiston, Macedonian civilization would almost certainly not have overspread the Orient as it did, and hence all subsequent civilization would have been different from what it was and is. Galilee and Judea would have had a different history, and Jesus would therefore have been a different man. There would have been no Saul of Tarsus with his cosmopolitan mind, no John with his profound mysticism, no Alexandrian Origen following in the steps of the Alexandrian Philo. But for the friendship of Octavius

Friendship
in history.

and Agrippa, no Augustan age would have given the necessary lull for the nourishing of a new vital civilizing agency before the forces of anarchy broke loose. Charlemagne was fitted to found in western Europe only a blind military despotism, no better than that which now blights its eastern plains. But he had a friend, Alcuin, a scholar and a Christian, through whose influence he was led to found schools, encourage learning, publish humane laws, and make western Europe the pioneer in the only civilization that has the promise of perfection in it. That William the Silent was able to check the extension of Spanish tyranny toward the north, where it would have hemmed the Reformation into central Germany and shut the gates whence poured the liberty-loving spirit of the Netherlands on to the shores of Massachusetts, was because of an early and cherished friendship with Charles the Fifth. Thus many if not most of the luminaries of history are double stars revolving about each other under the constraining influence of this spiritual force. There is no such thing as a materialistic civilization. What sometimes seems like the carcass of history is alive, thrilling and throbbing with spiritual energies, and whenever it rouses itself and does anything of account, some spiritual cause, in many cases friendship, is at the bottom of it.

It is no occasion for surprise, therefore, to discover that friendship is the most descriptive term

for the formative element in the kingdom of Jesus.

The basis of Christian society. The love of Jesus for men was of the friendly as distinguished from the patronizing type. He met all men on the platform of unassumed friendliness. He cherished sacred and particular friendships. The idyl of his intimacy with the household in Bethany is unsurpassed in literature. His relations with his disciples matured as time went on, until, as he was about to leave them, the intercourse of master and follower was transfigured into the tenderer and stronger relation of friendship; for, as he said, he had told them all he knew, and put the key to all the secrets of his kingdom into their hands.¹ The answer to the whole problem of how his kingdom is to be built is contained in the friendship that existed between him and them; ² a friendship which it would be interesting to compare with that which was at the basis of the Roman peace during which

¹ John xv. 15.

² "We lay aside the pen of criticism at a moment when the Social Question stirs all Europe, a question on whose wide domain all the revolutionary elements of science, of religion, of politics seem to have found the battlefield for a great and decisive contest. Whether this battle remains a bloodless conflict of minds, or whether like an earthquake it throws down the ruins of a past epoch with thunder into the dust, and buries millions beneath the wreck, it is certain that the new epoch will not conquer unless it be under the banner of a great idea which sweeps away egoism and sets human perfection in human fellowship as a new aim in the place of restless toil that looks only to the personal." Lange, *History of Materialism*, last page.

he was born. The kingdom of Jesus is a spiritual kingdom, not so much because it affirms a unity of origin for the race, saying, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men,"¹ not because it says that men are brothers, but because it gives promise that this unity of origin and nature shall be crowned by the unity of the spirit. Paul, who made such a fight for the spirit against the dead letter, was a famous friend. Dean Stanley has somewhere said of him that he "had a thousand friends and loved each of them as though he had a thousand souls." It is not strange that he claimed that the true descendant of Abraham, "the friend of God," was a spiritual descendant. The law of friendship is the supreme constitutional law of the empire of Jesus. The spirit of friendship is the supreme manifestation of the spirit of Jesus in society. It contains in it, as it had in his case, the elements of true fellowship, of vicariousness, and of sovereignty. "I have called you friends," he said, "because all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you;" and "Greater love hath no man now than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends;" and "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you." As prophet, as priest, as king, Jesus is swayed by the motive, ruled by the law, of friendship.² He was no patron; he never acted in a

¹ Acts xvii. 26.

² Whether these conversations recorded in the fourth Gospel

condescending manner. He was the friend, in the most genuine sense, even of publicans and harlots. His kingdom cannot make progress through patronage, however kindly intentioned.¹ Friendship cannot rest upon patronage. It is contrary to its spirit.

The improvement of the material bases of life and the equitable adjustment of conditions are of exceedingly great importance, because only thus may they be fitted for the growth upon them of disinterested friendships. The chief opportunity for the growth of such relationship is the family; but where the struggle for bare subsistence is too severe, or where ignorance is besotting, that end is not reached, and the family fails of its main purpose. Extremes either of poverty or of wealth interfere with the transfiguration of physical into spiritual relationships; and it is because of this that the social spirit is preparing to put an end to the curse of those extremes. The ideal society which that spirit will create will be one where every other relationship, while serving inferior though necessary ends,

actually took place or not, they represent the facts concerning Jesus' relations to his disciples, as abundantly confirmed by the other sources.

¹ A public bathroom in one of our cities used to have a placard conspicuously posted, announcing that it was maintained by the "Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor." It is not strange that the enterprise is not solving the social enigma very rapidly. The poor, it seems, with pardonable ingratitude, would rather go dirty than bathe under that sign.

shall minister the best opportunity for the formation and cherishing of friendships. Jesus conceived of the inhabitants of the celestial world as having become independent of the necessity of the inferior and material, and hence as living in relationships purely spiritual.¹ Says Professor Seeley: "This eternal question of a livelihood keeps us on a level from which no ideal is visible:" but in the true society every one would "be alive; the cares of livelihood would not absorb the mind, taming all impulse, clogging all flight, depressing the spirit with a base anxiety, smothering all social intercourse with languid fatigue, destroying men's interest in one another, and making friendship impossible."

The idea that the fundamental relationship between Jesus and his followers, namely, friendship, is the formula for the spiritualized society, was grasped by those disciples of the George Fox. spirit who went to the rather pardonable extreme of emphasizing the spirit as the only permanent and real thing in Christianity, the followers of George Fox. They tried to let go all institutionalism, metaphysics, dogma, and all other instrumentalities, and to open their minds for the direct action of the spirit. They were perhaps the first to read Scripture for the sole and conscious purpose of imbibing its spirit. And they called themselves "Friends." Whatever other errors they may have

¹ Luke xx. 34-36.

made, they appear to have been infallibly guided in the choice of that term as the best expression of the spirit of Christianity. The early history of this movement, before mannerism on one hand and fanaticism on the other had begun to obscure the real spirit of the founder, shows unmistakably that it had realized the social mission of the gospel at the start, and had been led to propose reforms far in advance of the times. Thus it is said that "Fox, soon after his conversion, began to speak to judges to do justice, to liquor-sellers not to let people have more drink than would do them good. He petitioned Parliament not to allow more public houses than were needed for *bona fide* travelers, and to do away with mere drinking-houses. He saw that the land mourned because of oaths, adulteries, drunkenness, and profaneness. He saw the enormity of capital punishment for theft, also the evil of tardy trial and long association in the evil company of the jails." Fox himself was not a quietist. He used phrases in the sense in which afterward Wesley used them, but his followers stereotyped them and used them to express the empty mysticism of Madame Guyon. The movement began with the primary aim of social betterment, and its spirit was truly described in the term "friendliness." Could it have succeeded, the world would have been to-day a full century farther along in its social development. But Fox lived before his day. An individualistic revival had to take precedence

of the social, and spiritual forces turned their energies into the channels of Wesleyanism. But Fox, sensitive to the whisperings of the spirit, foresaw and coined the formula for that social organization which is to be the final product of the creative and recreative energies of the spirit of Christ. That formula is "friendship."

A society, however, whose organic law is friendship cannot be an irreligious society. For the spirit of friendship will not brook the confinement of human interests to the sphere of the visible, where death is cer-
Friendship
and the
faith in im-
mortality.

tain at some time and liable at any time to interrupt the closest fellowships. Friendship is not of the dead, but of the living. Thus the final social law sets infinite value upon the individual.¹ There is an absolute incompatibility between the cher-

¹ "With the advance of civilization a higher value has been set upon the individual life. . . . As communities have left behind their brute inheritance and emerged into the light of reason and humanity, and in precisely the degree of their progress, have they set the stamp of preciousness upon man as man. . . . In earlier times individuals were worth more to society than they are to-day. . . . Now the thing to be noted is, that, along with this growth of the unessentialness of the individual, society has set upon his existence a higher estimate. He has taken on a new utility, a moral essentialness. The farther we get from animalism, and the nearer our approach to a full humanity, two things become plainer, — the decrease of the individual as a physical and temporal utility, and his steady increase as a moral and eternal. . . . Where this movement will end no one can foresee; but there is an amazing inspiration in the fact." Gordon, *Witness to Immortality*.

ishing of even the memory of a friendship, and the notion that death is the end of all. The feud between death and friendship can end only with the complete conquest of one of the combatants. The epic of this war, one of the world's few great philosophic poems,¹ is the picture of the triumph — in the mind of one fully alive to all its difficulties — of the hope of immortality over the seeming victory of death. It is not an argument, but a history of the struggle. Its construction, therefore, is hardly set forth in propositions, yet some of its assertions give out the faith of which it lays hold, as the following: —

“That each, who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general Soul,

“Is faith as vague as all unsweet:
Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside;
And I shall know him when we meet.”²

When, therefore, the spirit of friendship shall have established itself as the organic social law, it is a scientific certainty that it will have generated a faith in the survival of friends;³ and since, in such a society, all

Life and
immortality
brought to
light.

¹ Tennyson's *In Memoriam*.

² Canto xlvii.

³ In canto cvi. of *In Memoriam*, the third Christmas hymn in the poem, ending “Ring in the Christ that is to be,” Tennyson

are either actual friends or possible ones, to which the spirit will go out spontaneously in friendly desire, a general faith in immortality will arise. The stimulus of this faith, seeking its verification, will lead to the most eager search for evidences which can change it into knowledge. Most of the efforts to prove the doctrine of immortality have had this kind of personal motive.¹ Though the search for

shows that he realizes that the problem of immortality, which his personal friendship brings to him, involves the solution of the social problem. If he could only have been true to the inspiration of the hour when he wrote that ode! he might have been to the emancipation of man what Whittier was to that of the American black. But he let the very reputation it brought him ensnare him into the toils of the Philistinism of the British aristocracy, which condemned him henceforth in blindness to grind verses for its innumerable royal weddings. It was a thousand pities.

¹ "The proper function of intellect is the service of the social sympathies." (Comte, *System of Positive Policy*.) Comte's unbalanced but stupendous intellect grasped at the truth that a true sociology cannot be constructed without dealing with social forces in the form of sympathies, which demand the right to hold an attitude of some kind toward the region beyond death. It was under the influence of this dimly apprehended truth that he proposed that the citizens of his positivist state should worship the dead. It is true that he saw this only under the influence of a certain personal experience of which he said that but for it his system would have been "purely intellectual," that is, notional, but that "the necessary complement of the system was now supplied by an angelic inspiration too soon developed by death." In estimating Comte, it is customary to eliminate this as a part of his unfortunate and abnormal personal equation. The fact, however, is that that experience was normal and typical, and not universal only, because society itself is abnormal. Let society become what by its very nature it ought to be, and Comte's experience of

evidence fail, the realm will not be deserted, but will continue as one of pure faith, concerning which it shall be said,

"We have but faith: we cannot know;
For knowledge is of things we see."¹

Though

"I found Him not in world or sun,
Or eagle's wing, or insect's eye;
Nor thro' the questions men may try
The petty cobwebs we have spun;"²

though when

... "Faith had fallen asleep,
I heard a voice, 'Believe no more,'
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the Godless deep;

"A warmth within my breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answered, 'I have felt.'"³

That is to say, the spirit will produce a faith which is not born of science.

But although this faith will be of a different logical and psychological complexion from knowledge, the degree of its certitude will be as great as that of any knowledge can be. Science will have

a personal friendship confronting and defying death will become a social factor no longer negligible.

¹ *In Memoriam*, Prologue.

² *Ibid.*, canto cxxiv. Referring evidently to the Bampton lectures.

³ *Ibid.*, canto cxxiv.

to deal not with the legitimacy of this certitude so much as with its history and nature as a fact. "Articles" of religious faith ^{"Articles" of faith.} have not been created, nor have they often been ably defended, by the scientific method. They have been created by interests of various sorts, at the best by those of the affections.¹ A case which illustrates this fully is the modern faith in the universal salvation of those who die in infancy. It is a faith of recent origin, without that foundation in the language of Scripture upon which Protestants always profess to build, with no organic place in any of the official theologies or theodicies, so incongruous with them, in fact, that where it comes it reduces their structures to ruins. Yet not only can it not be kept out, but no one dare bring upon himself the penalty of uttering a protest against it. Neither Scripture nor theology nor science support it. Yet there it is, — because the spirit of Christendom demands and commands it.

Kant founded the faith in immortality upon

¹ We have come into being through a long course of Christian culture, and so find in ourselves a faith tendency, with something of the movement and certainty of natural forces." Gordon, *Witness to Immortality*, p. 13.

"One thing only can finally bring humanity to an ever enduring peace, — the recognition of the imperishable nature of all poesy in art, religion, and philosophy, and the permanent reconciliation on the basis of this recognition of the controversy between investigation and imagination." Lange, *History of Materialism*, vol. iii., p. 360.

a moral imperative, which did not investigate or reason, but spoke categorically. Perhaps Kant, working as a metaphysician, discovered the same fact which we here find in history under the more vital form of an actual spiritual force. Perhaps his abstract categorical imperative is nothing else than our concrete and irresistible spiritual potency. Certain it is that the faith in immortality has survived and does survive in spite of the lameness of its evidences. Two forces have kept it alive. The selfish desire or dread of continued existence has debauched men with sordid and sensual otherworldiness. But, on the other hand, it has been sustained by the holiest as well as the most powerful sentiment which can gain possession of the human mind, a sentiment without faith in the consummation of which human society is impossible. If human society lives, the faith in immortality will not die. If society fulfills the promise of the spirit, that faith will kindle all life into a glow of holy anticipation, because friendship will be the social law.¹

But it is a pure and a sane spirit, and hence it will not deny the opacity of the veil that shuts off communication with those who have gone hence ; and it will not permit the religious relationship to the unseen to stand in the way of or to compete with proper relationships with the

Hope and
dread.

¹ See a beautiful paragraph to this effect in Howells' Utopian *A Traveller from Altruria*.

living.¹ The dignity of personality will become so generally recognized that personal relationships or their want will be assumed to extend into the unseen. It will be seen to be a serious matter for Dives and Lazarus to grow apart, since the spell of estrangement is liable to continue, and the gulf to widen and deepen forever ; and it is in the nature of human personality that a single guilty alienation, if given time for its development, is capable of producing the tortures of perdition. Thus the faith in an unseen world, where blessed friendly relationships shall survive and consummate themselves, will involve a corresponding dread lest evil relationships or evil no-relationships may also endure, and work out their moral consequences. It is apparent that the spirit is likely to maintain a substantially orthodox "article" upon the subject of eschatology.

Since the faith in the unseen world will have its cause in the imperative character of the actual personal relationships which exist in the visible world, it will inevitably assign to Jesus a place in the unseen corresponding to that which he has

¹ " My old affection of the tomb,
A part of stillness, yearns to speak :
' Arise and get thee forth, and seek
A friendship for the years to come.' "

In Memoriam, canto lxxxiv.

It should not be overlooked how stalwartly " sound in head," to use his own expression, Tennyson remains in all his assaults upon the gates of death. This sanity is a large part of the strength of the poem.

come to occupy in the seen. To those to whom Jesus had become the supreme Friend in this life, he became and remained by faith the supreme Friend in the other life. Jesus gained a place in the world of his disciples which he never lost, a social relationship, that of friendship. It remained friendship, and became a religious relationship only because one term of it was transferred to the unseen. They were careful to affirm that to their faith it was the same Jesus.¹ Now the position which Jesus had won in the disciples' lives, while thoroughly human, was very remarkable. In a way he had become a God to them. He had absorbed, without their knowing it, a good share of the functions of the Hebrew Jehovah. They had fallen into the common habit of calling him "Lord," in the sense of "Master." But that happened to be the term also applied to Jehovah, and after he was taken from them they continued to use it, giving to it, with seeming unconsciousness, the sense of "Jehovah," while, so far as the New Testament writings show, they did not afterward use the term "Jehovah" except in quotations.

The Hebrew conception of the divine being contains two elements, which are difficult to grasp together, but both of which were modified and preserved if not created by the spirit of true social relationships. The first, which belongs more spe-

¹ Acts ii. 36.

cifically to the notion of "Elohim" or "El,"¹ is that of transcendence. He is the Inscrutable, separate from and outside the world, ^{Jesus and God.} whom no man hath seen or can see. The other grows out of the conception of a national deity, and more properly belongs to Jehovah, though patriotism led to the ascription to the national God of all divine attributes. According to this latter notion God is the king, the ally, the friend of his people. The worship of a national God may have grown out of that of a deceased patriarch or sheik. Yet the Hebrew conception rose above the ordinary one, in that it thought of a chosen rather than of a merely natural relationship. The Hebrew notion of a covenant lifted the idea of a national God out of the natural into the moral plane. It was the influence of this that led them to think of the founder of the race as the friend rather than the son of God. It was not easy to avoid abusing the idea of a national God; and it was equally difficult to combine it with that of the divine transcendence. No final success had been attained in the matter. Instinctively — for we find no proof that they ever reasoned it out — the disciples resolved the difficulty by giving to Jesus those more secondary and human attributes of the national God, and then ascribing the more transcendental characteristics, which did not fit him, to the God whom he wor-

¹ This statement needs qualifications which cannot be introduced here. But see Oehler, *Old Testament Theology*, sec. 41 f.

shipped, the heavenly Father, "the God and Father of their Lord Jesus Christ."¹

In taking this religious attitude toward Jesus, and investing him with the more human attributes of their national deity, the disciples were acting under the promptings of the spirit of friendship which bound them to him; and that same spirit has brought a good part of the world, and is manifestly destined to bring the whole of it, into a similar religious relationship to Jesus. For the prevalence of friendship as the social law gives no sign of coming in the form of a general diffused and pervasive influence. It promises to accomplish itself in the future, as it has done in the past, by the enthronement on earth and in heaven, in the seen and unseen, of the personality of Jesus. The spirit of friendship as a world force is the spirit of Jesus, in the nineteenth century as it was in the first; and there is no hint that it is likely to be divorced from the personality of Jesus. The conquest of the world by the spirit of friendship means, therefore, not merely a religious faith in immortality; it means that among the immortals Jesus is to hold a rank preëminent as he does among the mortals, — a man, but a man exalted to the right hand of the Ineffable Majesty. It is one of the continental facts of modern life that

¹ It must not be supposed that the processes were as simple as this brief outline would make them appear. It is believed, however, that this states the salient facts.

Jesus, though for centuries absent from the visible world, is in relations of abiding and redeeming friendship, through their religious natures, with millions, who are thereby coming into newness of life.¹ Not only is this relationship of friendship not incompatible with one of worship; it is the basis of the worship of Jesus. It is because of it that it is true, as Professor Bruce says, that "Jesus has for the Christian consciousness the religious value of God. He is the Lord Jesus, and as such the object of devoted attachment and reverent worship."²

The apotheosis of Jesus, however, is not enough to satisfy the religious demands of friendship. Jesus himself is essentially a derived being, dependent upon the Supreme Power. Apotheosis
of "the
Father." Man is not, Jesus is not such master of nature, that he can afford to affirm the reality, and hence the eternity, of friendship, unless he at the same time affirm that the Supreme is enlisted in its behalf. To affirm that God the Transcendent is the guarantor of the reality and eternity of human relationships is a supreme act of faith; and the consummation of the work of the spirit of friendship, which is the spirit of Jesus, is to lead to the universality of such a faith with all that it involves. The parturition of friendship in giving

¹ See in this connection the late Professor Stearns' *Evidence of Christian Experience*.

² *Apologetics*, pp. 398 f.

birth to such a mighty faith is portrayed in Brown-
ing's "Saul :"

"And oh, all my heart how it loved him! but where was the
sign ?

I yearned — ' Could I help thee, my father, inventing a bliss,
I would add, to that life of the past, both the future and this ;
I would give thee new life altogether, as good, ages hence,
As this moment,— had love but the warrant, love's heart to
dispense ! '

Then the truth came upon me. . . .

Do I find love so full in my nature, God's ultimate gift,
That I doubt his own love can compete with it? Here the
parts shift ?

Here, the creatures surpass the Creator, — the end, what Be-
gan ?

Would I fain in my impotent yearning do all for this man,
And dare doubt he alone shall not help him, who yet alone can ?

I believe it! 'Tis thou, God, that givest, 'tis I who receive :
In the first is the last, in thy will is my power to believe.

See the King — I would help him, but cannot, the wishes fall
through.

Could I wrestle to raise him from sorrow, grow poor to enrich,
To fill up his life, starve my own out, I would — knowing which,
I know that my service is perfect. Oh, speak through me now!
Would I suffer for him that I love ? So wouldst thou — so wilt
thou !

So shall crown thee the topmost, ineffablest, uttermost crown —
And thy love fill infinitude wholly."

It is to be noted that in this case also as in
that of immortality the spirit produces the faith
rather than the evidence upon which knowledge
may be based. It stimulates to the search for

knowledge, but it does not postpone the faith or condition it upon the acquisition of knowledge. Here is another of the points where Kant appeals to the categorical imperative. The three assertions of Kant's moral imperative, Freedom, Immortality, and God,¹ compare with the three articles of faith which the spirit of friendship will assuredly create, namely, the worth of personality (Freedom), its deathlessness, and the guaranteeing of these other two in the very nature of the Eternal.² The covert sneer which Renan meant to convey can be overlooked, and the truth which he only half believed recognized, when he says of the survivals of faith in spite of apparent contradictions: "the reasoning of Kant remains as true as it ever was; moral affirmation creates its object."³ The "categorical imperative" is the metaphysical formula corresponding to the actual experience-creating spiritual force, which keeps humanity in a healthy relationship both to that which is the object of possible knowledge, and that which can never be the object of other than either faith or unfaith.⁴ If the

Kant's categorical imperative.

¹ Kant, *Practical Reason* (Abbott's trans.), pp. 220 f.

² "But souls that of his own good self partake
He loves as His own self; dear as His eye
They are to Him; He 'll never them forsake;
When they shall die, then God himself shall die;
They live, they live in blest eternity." (George Herbert.)

³ *History of the People of Israel*, Preface, p. xxvii.

⁴ "But it is more important that we shall rise to the recognition that it is the same necessity, the same transcendental root of

spirit of friendship fulfills itself, faith in a beneficent God will prevail. If it does not, then the alternative is the equally unverifiable yet inevitable conviction that

“Earth is darkness at the core,
And dust and ashes all that is.”

This spirit will create belief not only in a God, but in a God adequate to the situation. Almost the first act of the Hebrew spirit when it began the spiritualization of history was to improve upon the idea of God. It kept on until, through Jesus, it seemed to complete the work by giving to God the name “Father.” Yet what seemed to be the final stroke was only the introduction of a profounder problem. For “Father” is a relative term, and an eternal and transcendent Father is meaningless unless there be another eternal and transcendent term. To the disciples of Jesus the Transcendent was his Father. They knew the Father only as related to Jesus. When Jesus passed into the invisible, he was thought of as having gone to his Father, as he had said he would, as being exalted to the right hand of the Eternal. Thus psychologically Jesus had become identified in their minds with the eter-

our human nature, which supplies us through the senses with the idea of the world of reality, and which leads us in the highest function of nature and creative synthesis to fashion a world of the ideal in which to take refuge from the limitations of the senses, and in which to find again the true Home of the spirit.”
Lange, *History of Materialism*, Preface to Book II.

nal and transcendent "other-term," and they could not help it. There was a psychological constraint upon them to assert his preëxistence, and all the problems of Christology grew up. The temptation to mythologize was very great, and it is strange that the *aber-glaube* was not more dense and wild than it was. The spirit urged them on even through those dangerous paths, requiring faith in an eternal Father and hence in an eternal correlative, a Son standing in such relationship to the Father that he was never other than Son, an eternally begotten Son. And because the history of their faith in divine Fatherhood was what it was, they could not distinguish — unless it might be metaphysically, and they were not metaphysicians — between Jesus of Nazareth, whose heavenly Father was now theirs because He had been his, and that "Eternally Begotten Son" of their faith. So they frankly identified the two, one an object of historical knowledge, the other of pure faith, and accepted the enigmas which such identification involved. It was a remarkable transaction, but not so remarkable as the fact that it has been able to repeat itself in human experience from that day to this; for it is not the dogma concerning Jesus which has produced the experience, but the experience which has produced and preserved and many times revitalized the dogma.¹

¹ In constructive theology "thought starts with the data and the beliefs, the consciousness and the principles, of a religion and the religious society. God is a being whose existence is accepted

The spirit of devotion to Jesus works through him up to faith in the divine Father ; but not without placing the personality of Jesus in a thoroughly unique position both with reference to God and to man. While it cannot be predicted that the terms of statement of this attitude of mind toward Jesus may not vary much from the traditional because of changes in the metaphysical or philosophical organon ; yet it is apparent that, because of his actual historical position, which is an object of positive knowledge and not of faith or opinion, he is destined to occupy to the faith of the future a peculiar relationship to the mysterious "other-term" of that divine Fatherhood in which the world will never cease to believe.

The spirit, however, which is conquering humanity is not satisfied with a faith in an eternal Fatherhood and Sonship. It affirms these Apotheosis of the spirit. only as basal relationships. It insists with equal imperativeness on affirming that these basal relationships have been eternally transcended in the spiritual one of friendship, that friendship which is typified in the mature relationship of the father and son after mere animal and material

and assumed ; He has been an object of worship before He became a subject of thought. . . . And the world theology has to interpret is as concrete as the God. It is not the abstract nature of Theism, but the world of actual men, with all that lies as history behind and all that lives as passion, sin, belief, hope, and reason within them." Fairbairn, *Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, pp. 402, 403.

interdependence has been swallowed up in personal interdependence. That highest conceivable relationship of friendship is not only spiritual, it is a spirit, a quasi-independent thing, a force, proceeding from the persons in whom it inheres. Faith, therefore, in its determination to serve the interests of friendship by affirming a God adequate to the situation, will insist upon the assertion of an eternally existing spirit, a force, proceeding from the Father and from the Son. And since a spirit of personal relationship cannot exist without a complete distinction of personalities, it will hold that the distinction between Father and Son in the Godhead is eternally equivalent to a personal distinction. By the same token the spirit, although in one sense wholly dependent, is in another sense, and in proportion to its perfection as a spirit, independent and distinct. There is a distinction between a person and a society and the spirit of that person or society, a distinction which is nowhere better expressed than in the old theological term "hypostatic." Hence concerning this eternally proceeding spirit, which belongs to the internal structure of the Godhead, faith will affirm an eternal hypostasis. This will not stand for personality in the same sense as the others; but, as the spirit of personal relationships, it will be in a sense equally high and important. Indeed the affirmation concerning the distinction between Father and Son will be that it is at least equivalent

to that of persons. It may be more: it cannot be less. So of the spirit it will be that it is correspondingly personal, in its way, as spirit.¹

Such a faith in an Eternal Father, an Eternally Begotten Son, and an Eternally Proceeding Spirit, one God, and yet with these eternal hypostatic distinctions, is the faith which the social spirit, when it has consummated itself and universalized its power, will cause; because no other is adequate to the situation. It will cause it to be held with a certitude equal to the supremest certitude with which friend believes in friend, a certitude different in kind but not in degree from that of knowledge. Will cause? Nay, will universalize; for among the other marvels which occurred at or near the beginning of our era, one of the most astonishing is the creation and definition of precisely that article of faith which unassailable logic shows must one day be created and defined if the spirit of right relationships between man and man fulfills its potentiality. It is true that the Greek mind prepared the formal statement of this faith. But it

¹ Augustine, who for ecclesiastical reasons desired to harmonize the fundamental notions of Christianity with Roman imperialism, took the first step toward that devitalization of the trinitarian conception, which has been so serious a matter for all western theology. Thus he apologized for and minimized the terms of it, among other things declining to call the Holy Spirit *alius* than God, but only saying that it was *aliud*. See *De Fide et Symbolo*.

was the Christian spirit which produced the faith and enlisted the Greek genius in the analytic determination of its contents. For the Nicene and Athanasian symbols are but an effort to render explicit what was implicit in the religious attitude of the Christianity of that day. It is true that, following the perverse polemical method of that age, the dogma — itself the effect rather than the cause of the redemptive movement — was put forward as though its speculative adoption were necessary in order to enter the sphere of influence of that redemptive movement. The “*Quicumque vult*” is not easy to defend. It is not true that whosoever will be saved must begin by holding the creed of Athanasius. But the resentment against that statement usually discredits itself by a far more shallow inconsequence. That was but a reading backward, metaphysically, as in a mirror reversed, the truth that whosoever is saved, and lives to work out the logic of his salvation, will end by worshiping what would be accurately described, as “one God in trinity, and trinity in unity.” Guided by his religious instincts, he would “neither confound the persons nor divide the substance;” for he would regard the Father as one hypostasis, the Son as another, and the Holy Spirit as another. But “the godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit” he would hold to be “all one, the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal.” Such as he

thought the Father, such he would think the Son, and such the Holy Spirit; "the Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, the Holy Spirit uncreate; the Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Spirit incomprehensible; the Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Spirit eternal; yet not three eternals but one eternal; as also not three incomprehensibles nor three uncreated, but one uncreated and one incomprehensible: the Father almighty, the Son almighty, the Holy Spirit almighty; yet not three almighties but one almighty: so the Father God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God; yet not three Gods but one God: likewise the Father Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Spirit Lord; yet not three Lords but one Lord; the Father made of none, neither created nor begotten; the Son of the Father alone, not made nor created but begotten; the Holy Spirit of the Father and the Son, neither made nor created nor begotten, but proceeding."¹ Thus in all things, as afore-

¹ The term "proceeding" exactly describes the mode of dependence of the kind of spirit we are here investigating. In any other sense it is but a lame expression. This is strong proof that under the guise of metaphysics the framers of the Nicene dogma were endeavoring to describe the actual phenomenon of religious history to which we allude. The coincidence is too striking to be accidental. The "*filioque*" controversy is also suggestive. The fact is that in history the spirit which is religiously denominated the Holy Spirit proceeds from Jesus, and hence from the purely historical point of view the doubt would be concerning not the "*filioque*" but the "*ex patre*." But the Church never was able to take the purely historical point of

said, the unity in trinity and the trinity in unity will be worshiped, and it will be worshiped with a loving adoration; for it will not only be believed in with a certitude equal to that with which friend believes in friend, but by the same token it will be portrayed with an adorable perfection which will win the deepest and holiest affection of the heart.¹

view. The Eastern Church missed it altogether, and, taking only the religious or pietistic and metaphysical standpoint, affirmed accordingly the "*ex patre*" but denied the "*filioque*," — in substance denying that the spirit was a genetic factor in the world's unfolding history. The Eastern Church, not because it denies the "*filioque*," but as a result of the same causes which led to that denial, has remained stagnant; it has no history. The Western Church, as a result partly of the same causes which led it to affirm the "*filioque*," is the church of history and of progress. The denial or affirmation have indeed been contributing causes as well as concomitant effects in the history. The trinitarian doctrine, however, has never been permitted to play a part as a constructive cause at all commensurate with its possibilities as compared with other doctrines of the Godhead, as for instance that concerning sovereignty. The church was able to produce it, and has shown a remarkable instinct in conserving it. But it has not been allowed to germinate. It has not however been sterilized; and the day for it to display its wonderful vitality and varied powers may perhaps be at hand.

¹ "Still I believe they (reformation and unity) will come, and that they will come through an unveiling to our hearts of the old mystery of the Trinity, in which our fathers believed, but which they made an excuse for exclusion and persecution, not a bond of fellowship. . . . The preaching of the Trinity in its fullness will, I conceive, be the everlasting Gospel to the nations." F. D. Maurice, *Autobiography*, vol. ii., p. 354.

"That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,
Or decomposes but to recompose,
Become my universe that feels and knows!"

Browning, *The Epilogue*.

In the light of that conception of God human life and history will undergo a grand transfiguration. The religious will no longer be attained only by way of the social, but the social will be approached from the higher level of the religious. Whereas men knew in order to believe, they will now know also because they believe. The relative importance of the two certitudes, that of faith and that of knowledge, will be interchanged. Those relationships which are founded upon faith will be so valued in comparison with those founded upon knowledge, and the instincts of faith will be so trusted, that it will be almost as though knowledge had served its day and could be allowed to vanish, while faith and hope and love abide. Then it will be permitted to turn from the order of causation and view phenomena with reference to the order of divine purpose. To be sure, this is not only something that will be. The back light of transfiguration has always shone, has in fact been the brighter, if not the whiter light in which events have been viewed. Men have always preferred to read the world of phenomena in the light of teleology rather than of genesis. The prevailing intellectual vice has been the mechanical mixture of the two. Science insists upon the genetic alone, and rightly excludes teleology from its sphere. The religious mind, which will be the product of the perfect social evolution, will respect

Life trans-
figured.

the integrity of science in this as in everything else, and yet will employ it as a means to smooth the way for a true teleology. It will look at events in the light of its faith in a divine purpose; it will believe in Providence.

It will not ask science to stultify itself, however, by taking account of providential dealings.¹ The divine in history cannot be a discovery of science as such. It is an article of faith, which affirms it in two by no means identical propositions. These are a general divine providence, and a specific divine incarnation. The specific divine operation in history is not a series of providential interferences, but a spiritual and personal force, which science discovers and describes as an integral part of history, fulfilling the continuities, and concerning which faith affirms that it is divine. That which distinguishes the Hebrew and Christian development is not a set of special providential interventions, but a special spiritual potency, producing and in turn proceeding from an unique personality. It is by this spirit and this person that that history is marked off from all other history; and it is because of these that faith affirms that it is specifically divine. Hence although an exceptional it

Providence
and the
spirit not
identical.

¹ "To say that Providence is the guide and ruler of history is to say absolutely nothing unless one makes clear the necessary relation of that power to human progress." F. A. Henry, *Princeton Review*.

is a thoroughly normal history; as an individual is most wholesomely religious, not because he can relate the greatest number or the most striking of "special providences," but because, while, like Jesus, he regards all things as providential, he is swayed by a spirit which causes all events to work toward the best ends. Whether or not God intervenes in behalf of a man or a course of history is of small account; whether or not the spirit of Jesus dominates that man or that history makes all the difference in the world. That is divine, says faith, where that spirit rules; that is not divine, however miraculous, where that spirit is not.¹

What is to be called, therefore, a divinely ordered life or history need not be conceived of by the most religious mind as one in which material events as such are ordered differently from what they are elsewhere; but rather as one in which the spirit is present, either giving to material events a special significance, or so guiding men that such events as are dependent upon their actions are really determined by the action of the spirit. Lotze means much the

"Divine ordering" and continuity.

¹ "My firm conclusion, in which every day of fresh thought, reading, and prayer strengthens me, is that the voice of the Spirit must always lord it over the voice of Providence where they seem to be in contradiction; and that in fact without the first we have no means of understanding the other, so that if our ears are too deaf for that, we are bound to wait and not fancy we can obey the other." F. D. Maurice, *Biography*, vol. i., p. 138.

same thing when he says: "However specially we may imagine the history to be guided from the loftier standpoint of divine wisdom, from a higher plane than natural evolution, we may be quite satisfied if this guidance takes place through action and reaction between God and the spiritual nature of man, in such a way that the thoughts, feelings, and efforts thus aroused and developed also alter the external position of mankind, to the same limited extent to which our action is able to change the physical conditions of our existence. Thus within the realm of nature, with its uninterrupted coherence, there is certainly a possibility of history."¹ Thus while the religious attitude requires faith in both special and general divine care and interest in man, that attitude may be held without denying the continuity and uniformity of natural law. When science establishes the presumption of such uniformity and continuity, the religious mind responds, not with contradiction, but with a faith in a correspondingly uniform, continuous, and impartial divine Providence, sending its favors and enforcing its laws upon just and unjust, noting the fall of a sparrow, having no respect of persons,—not because of indifference, to all, but because of indifference to none. Science again discerns the profoundly specific character of a certain man and of a certain spiritual force; and the religious mind responds again by declaring that

¹ *Microcosmus*, Book VII., cap. i.

these two elements are the historical aspects of God acting as a special agent in human affairs. Thus the scientific and the religious, both when they generalize and when they specialize, move in exact parallelism. An absolutely general Providence gives no clew to the meaning of the world, and will not satisfy the religious craving. A special Providence, interfering with the genetic continuities, is obnoxious to the scientific mind. Jesus, however, and the spirit of Jesus are specific factors which science can acknowledge as such while faith apotheosizes them. Thus when the work of the spirit shall have been so far perfected that it shall have secured the worship of Jesus as the incarnation of the mysterious Second Person of the Godhead, and of itself as the manifestation of the Spirit of the Father and the Son, the religious mind will be satisfied with the intelligibility of the world while yet the right of the scientific mind will not have been infringed.¹

¹ A merely generic godhood gives no starting point to religion. The current supernaturalism is an effort to attach a saving amendment, in the interest of religion, to the deism of the last century or the pantheism of the early part of this. The transcendental and immanent theisms are simply deism and pantheism under the control of religious moods; but they are really impotent in religion, because both wholly generic. The modern effort so to combine them as to escape from the closed circle is not a success. When they seem to be interlinked, it is but a trick of logical legerdemain. Two generics do not make a specific. The peace between the scientific and the religious interests will not be made in that way, but will come through the revitalizing of the trinitarian conception. And however successful logic *might* be in bringing that about, it is the social spirit which actually *will* do it.

But when this time comes, and the promptings of that spirit shall have been interpreted as the yearnings of God, men will be, as never before, concerned about the relationship ^{Sense of sin.} between themselves and that God. They will see that they have been alienated from Him; and in the light of the conception which will then prevail that alienation will be realized as an awful tragedy. Such realization will be the sense of sin. All of the long and but meagrely successful struggles of this spirit to gain possession of the hearts of men will be interpreted as the pathetic efforts of a divine Father to rescue and reconcile to himself and to their own best selves his wayward children. The general unresponsiveness of men will be interpreted as a revelation of race sin. Then this interpretation will be applied to explain all the unbrotherliness in the world, and the element of tragedy which runs through all history will be explained. Not only will men see this, but they will be overwhelmed by shame and sorrow and remorse, and they will repent and seek to be reconciled to God as penitent children. This sense of sin and the need of repentance, science cannot bring because it cannot reveal God. It can only reveal evil, maladjustment. The interpretation of this maladjustment in the form of the belief that man is a fallen being, an estranged child of God, belongs to the sphere of faith, because the sense of divine childhood itself belongs to that sphere. It is one of the

doctrines of grace, because by its radical diagnosis of the cause of evil it places man in a position where a radical cure is possible. Thus the spirit will convince the world of sin.

To interpret the mission of Jesus and of his spirit as the work of God seeking to restore sinful man is to think of God as suffering for the taking away of sin. The solicitations of the spirit are thought of as God's solicitations, the sacrifice of Jesus as his sacrifice. To the religious mind the key to history is that God is dealing redemptively with the world. It is not possible to think of the estrangement of God's children as affecting Him otherwise than with inconceivable anguish. Nor can He be thought of as escaping that anguish by pardoning sin outright. Moreover, God is the champion of all those who have suffered through the sins of others. As such it is impossible not to think of Him as moved by an awful yet a holy anger as He looks at the wrongs and outrages which curse this earth. It is as axiomatic in morals as in physics that action and reaction are equal. If God withholds his anger and turns his vengeance into forgiveness, it is a moral certainty that He must be thought of as himself suffering the equivalent of the penalty He would have inflicted. Now science says that the spell of human unbrotherliness *was* broken by the sacrifice of Jesus, — it is passing and is destined to pass away under the influence of the stronger spell which his

cross has cast upon the world. Faith, interpreting this in the light of its deification of Jesus, declares that it is a hint of the divine mystery of love by which the sin of this world was washed away in the suffering of the Second Person of the Godhead, — which suffering through sympathy was that of God himself. Thus the remedial kingdom of Jesus is, religiously viewed, the kingdom of a divine forgiveness and sacrifice. The interpretation which faith will place upon the world's redemption will not fall short of the essential doctrine of the atonement.

Thus the whole catalogue of great dogmas which have played their part in religious history will be revived, restated, and vindicated, as having originally been dictated by the social spirit. The doctrine of divine sovereignty, which has so affected men's minds as to become an important historical factor, will appear to have been instigated by the spirit in response to peculiar demands of the times ; and when it has been revised and refined in the light of maturer apprehensions of the meaning of divine Fatherhood in its governmental relations,¹ it will become a part of the faith of the future.

In short, we discovered a spiritual force, operating from the first in Hebrew history, and strangely differentiating and integrating it, maintaining in it a marked individuality and

Orthodoxy
regained.

Summary.

¹ See such restatement in Fairbairn's *Place of Christ in Modern Theology*.

exclusiveness, while at the same time it kept it in organic relationships with world history. We found it equipping that history with a literature quite the most remarkable in the world, freighted with spiritual wealth and thrilling with spiritual vitality. A Man was produced, evidently through the quickening of that spirit, fitted to stand at the centre and summit of the world's development, and able to take and hold his place there, and to compel history henceforth to revolve around him. This spirit became his spirit, and has been his chief agent in mastering men. It has created another literature, and institutions, and a social atmosphere, founding for him a spiritual empire unlike any other empire that ever existed, an empire whose fundamental aim is the spiritualization of all human relationships. It has kept this Jesus on the throne of that empire, and has exalted him in men's religious conceptions to the right hand of the Ineffable Conception. So far has this imperial movement now gone that its destiny is within reach of scientific prediction; and it is manifest that it will recreate humanity, will make friendship the supreme law of human relationships, will cause men to regard such relationships as more enduring, for good or ill, than their physical frames or the visible universe itself, and will cause them to believe in, to worship, and to love a God whose very nature is the home of the supremest personal relationships. In the light of such a thought of God

it will reinterpret the world, history, and human nature, it will assert a universal and beneficent Providence, an incarnation of God in Jesus and in his spirit, a fall but also a redemption of man, and the gathering together of the whole redeemed household of the Eternal Father in bliss unthinkable. Such a consummation will this spirit bring about. Whether or not this faith is or ever will be scientifically verified or verifiable is not here said. What is affirmed is, that it is scientifically certain that such faith will prevail.

One final word : I have endeavored to conduct this dissertation within the strictest limits of the scientific method as most narrowly defined, believing that by so dealing with this topic I could do the best service to my generation. If I have failed in this, no one so desires to know it as myself. I have been forced into skepticism as to my processes by astonishment at the conclusions which unfolded themselves as the subject ripened under the glow of investigation, but have been unable to detect errors either of perception or of reason. I never dreamed when I entered this path what a revelation would break upon me when I had climbed its steeps to the end.

“ I spoke as I saw.

I report, as a man may of God’s work —

All ’s love, yet all ’s law.

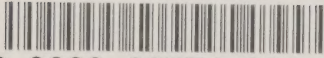
Now I lay down the judgeship he lent me.

Each faculty tasked

To perceive Him, has gained an abyss

Where a dewdrop was asked.”

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9999 09774 816 2

